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1918.

INTRODUCTION.

TO arrange chronologically the works (especially if numerous) of an author whose own date is known with tolerable precision, is not always or necessarily easy: witness the controversies as to the succession of St. Paul's epistles. To do this in the case of an author whose own date is itself a matter of controversy may therefore be reasonably expected to be still less so; and such is the predicament of him who attempts to perform this task for Tertullian. I propose to give a specimen or two of the difficulties with which the task is beset; and then to lay before the reader briefly a summary of the results at which eminent scholars, who have devoted much time and thought to the subject, have arrived. Such a course, I think, will at once afford him means of judging of the absolute impossibility of arriving at definite certainty in the matter; and induce him to excuse me if I prefer furnishing him with materials from which to deduce his own conclusions, rather than venturing on an *ex cathedra* decision on so doubtful a subject.

1. The book, as Dr. Holmes has reminded us,[1] of the date of which we seem to have the surest evidence, is *adv. Marc.* i. This book was in course of writing, as its author himself (c. 15) tells us, "in the fifteenth year of the empire of Severus." Now this date would be clear if there were no doubt as to which year of our era corresponds to Tertullian's fifteenth of Severus. Pamelius, however, says Dr. Holmes, makes it A.D. 208; Clinton, (whose authority is more recent and better,) 207.

2. Another book which promises to give some clue to its

[1] Introductory Notice to the *Anti-Marcion*, pp. xiii. xiv.

date is the *de Pallio.* In the end of c. 2 the writer uses these phrases: "præsentis imperii *triplex virtus;*" "Deo *tot Augustis in unum* favente;" which show that there were at the time *three* persons unitedly bearing the title *Augusti*—not *Cæsares* only, but the still higher *Augusti;*—while the remainder of that context, as well as the opening of c. 1, indicates a time of peace of some considerable duration; a time of plenty; and a time during and previous to which great changes had taken place in the general aspect of the Roman Empire, and some particular traitor had been discovered and frustrated. Such a combination of circumstances might seem to fix the date with some degree of assurance. But unhappily, as Kaye reminds us,[1] commentators cannot agree as to who the three Augusti are. Some say Severus, Caracalla, and *Albinus;* some say Severus, Caracalla, and *Geta.* Hence we have a difference of some twelve years or thereabouts in the computations. For Albinus was defeated by Severus in person, and fell by his own hand, in A.D. 197; and Geta, Severus' second son, brother of Caracalla, was not associated by his father with himself and his other son as *Augustus* until A.D. 208, though he had received the title of *Cæsar* ten years before, in the same year in which *Caracalla* had received that of *Augustus.*[2] For my own part, I may perhaps be allowed to say that I should incline to agree, like Salmasius, with those who assign the later date. The limits of the present Introduction forbid my entering at large into my reasons for so doing. I am, however, supported in it by the authority of Neander.[3] In one point, though, I should hesitate to agree with Oehler, who appears to follow Salmasius and others herein,—namely, in understanding the expression "et cacto et rubo subdolæ familiaritatis convulso" of *Albinus.* It seems to me the words might with more propriety be applied to *Plautianus;* and that in the word "familiaritatis" we may see (after

[1] *Eccl. Hist. illust. from Tertullian's Writings*, p. 36 sqq. (ed. 3, Lond. 1845).

[2] See Kaye, as above.

[3] *Antignosticus*, p. 424 (Bohn's tr., ed. 1851).

Tertullian's fashion) a play upon the meaning, with a reference not only to the long-standing but mischievous *intimacy* which existed between Severus and his fellow-countryman (perhaps fellow-townsman) Plautianus, who for his harshness and cruelty is fitly compared to the prickly *cactus ;* but likewise to the alliance which this ambitious prætorian præfect had contrived to contract with the *family* of the emperor, by the marriage of his daughter Plautilla to Caracalla,—an event which, as it turned out, led to his own death: and thus in the "*rubo*" there may be a reference to the ambitious and conceited "*bramble*" of Jotham's parable,[1] and perhaps, too, to the "thistle" of Jehoash's.[2] If this be so, the date would be at least approximately fixed, as Plautianus did not marry his daughter to Caracalla till A.D. 203, and was himself put to death in the following year, 204, while Geta, as we have seen, was made Augustus in 208.

3. The date of the *Apology*, however, is perhaps at once the most contested, and the most strikingly illustrative of the difficulties to which allusion has been made. It is not surprising that its date *should* have been more disputed than that of other pieces, inasmuch as it is the best known, and (for some reasons) the most interesting and famous, of all our author's productions. In fact, the dates assigned to it by different authorities vary from Mosheim's 198 to that suggested by the very learned Allix, who assigns it to 217.[3]

4. Once more. In the tract *de Monogamia* (c. 3) the author says that since the date of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians "about 160 years had elapsed." Here, again, did we only know with certainty the precise date of

[1] See Judg. ix. 2 sqq.

[2] See 2 Kings (4 Kings in LXX. and Vulg.) xiv. 9.

[3] Here, again, our limits forbid a discussion; but the allusion to the Rhone having "scarcely yet lost the stain of blood" which we find in the *ad Natt.* i. 17, compared with *Apol.* 35, seems to favour the idea of those who date the *ad. Natt.* earlier than the *Apology*, and consider the latter as a kind of new edition of the former: while it would fix the date of the *ad Natt.* as not certainly earlier than 197, in which year Albinus (as we have seen) died. The fatal battle took place on the banks of the Rhone.

that epistle, we could ascertain "*about*" the date of the tract. But (*a*) the date of the epistle is itself variously given,—Burton giving it as early as A.D. 52, Michaelis and Mill as late as 57; and (*b*) Tertullian only says, "Armis *circiter* CLX. exinde productis;" while the way in which, in the *ad Natt.*, within the short space of three chapters, he states first (in c. 7) that 250, and then (in c. 9) that 300, years had not elapsed since the rise of the Christian name, leads us to think that here again (viz. in the *de Monog.*) he only desires to speak in round numbers, meaning perhaps *more* than 150, but *less* than 170.

These specimens must suffice, though it might be easy to add to them. There is, however, another classification of our author's writings which has been attempted. Finding the hopelessness of strict chronological accuracy, commentators have seized on the idea that peradventure there might be found at all events some internal marks by which to determine which of them were written before, which after, the writer's secession to Montanism. It may be confessed that this attempt has been somewhat more successful than the other. Yet even here there are two formidable obstacles standing in our way. The first and greatest is, that the natural temper of Tertullian was from the first so akin to the spirit of Montanism, that, unless there occur distinct allusions to the "New Prophecy," or expressions specially connected with Montanistic phraseology, the *general tone* of any treatise is not a very safe guide. The second is, that the subject-matter of *some* of the treatises is not such as to afford much scope for the introduction of the peculiarities of a sect which professed to differ in discipline only, not doctrine, from the church at large.

Still the result of this classification seems to show one important feature of agreement between commentators, however they may differ upon details; and that is, that considerably the larger part of our author's rather voluminous productions[1] must have been subsequent to his lamented

[1] It looks strange to see Tertullian's works referred to as consisting of "about thirty *short treatises*" in Murdock's note on Mosheim. See

secession. I think the best way to give the reader (as I have said) means for forming his own judgment will be to lay before him in parallel columns a tabular view of the disposition of the books by Dr. Neander and Bishop Kaye. These two modern writers, having given particular care to the subject, bringing to bear upon it all the advantages derived from wide reading, eminent abilities, and a diligent study of the works of preceding writers on the same questions,[1] have a special right to be heard upon the matter in hand; and I think, if I may be allowed to say so, that, for calm judgment, and minute acquaintance with his author, I shall not be accused of undue partiality if I express my opinion that, as far as my own observation goes, the palm must be awarded to the Bishop. In this view I am supported by the fact that the accomplished Professor Ramsay, in his article on Tertullian in *Smith's Dict. of Biog. and Myth.*, follows Dr. Kaye's arrangement. I premise that Dr. Neander adopts a threefold division, into:

1. Writings which were occasioned by the relation of the Christians to the heathen, and refer to their vindication of Christianity against the heathen; attacks on heathenism; the sufferings and conduct of Christians under persecution; and the intercourse of Christians with heathens:

2. Writings which relate to Christian and church life, and to ecclesiastical discipline:

3. The dogmatic and dogmatico-controversial treatises: and under each head subdivides into:

a. Pre-Montanist writings:

b. Post-Montanist writings:

thus leaving no room for what Kaye calls "works respecting which nothing certain can be pronounced." For the sake of clearness, this order has not been followed in the table. On the other side, it will be seen that Dr. Kaye, while not assuming to speak with more than a reasonable probability, is careful so to arrange the treatises under

the ed. of the *Eccl. Hist.* by Dr. J. Seaton Reid, p. 65, n. 2, Lond. and Bel. 1852.

[1] This last qualification is very specially observable in Dr. Kaye.

each head as to show the *order*, so far as it is discoverable, in which the books under that head were *published ; i.e.*, if one book is *quoted* in another book, the book so quoted, if distinctly referred to as *already before the world*, is plainly anterior to that in which it is quoted. Thus, then, we have :

NEANDER.

1. *Pre-Montanist.*

1. De Pœnitentia.
2. De Oratione.
3. De Baptismo.
4. Ad Uxorem i.
5. Ad Uxorem ii.
6. Ad Martyres.
7. De Patientia.
8. De Spectaculis.
9. De Idololatria.
10, 11. Ad Nationes i. ii.
12. Apologeticus.
13. De Testimonio Animæ.
14. De Præscr. Hæreticorum.
15. De Cult. Fem. i.
16. De Cult. Fem. ii.

2. *Post-Montanist.*

17–21. Adv. Marc. i. ii. iii. iv. v.
22. De Anima.
23. De Carne Christi.
24. De Res. Carn.

KAYE.

1. *Pre-Montanist* (probably).

1. De Pœnitentia.[1]
2. De Oratione.
3. De Baptismo.
4. Ad Uxorem i.
5. Ad Uxorem ii.
6. Ad Martyres.
7. De Patientia.
8. Adv. Judæos.
9. De Præscr. Hæreticorum.[2]

2. *Post-Montanist* (certainly).

10. Adv. Marc. i.
11. Adv. Marc. ii.[3]
12. De Anima.[4]
13. Adv. Marc. iii.
14. Adv. Marc. iv.[5]
15. De Carne Christi.[6]
16. De Resurrectione Carnis.[7]
17. Adv. Marc. v.
18. Adv. Praxeam.
19. Scorpiace.[8]

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[1] [Referred to apparently in *de Pudic. ad init.*—TR.]

[2] The *de Præscr.* is ref. to in *adv. Marc.* i. ; *adv. Prax.* 2 ; *de Carne Christi*, 2 ; *adv. Hermog.* 1.

[3] Ref. to in *de Res. Carn.* 2, 14 ; *Scorp.* 5 ; *de Anima*, 21. [The only mark, as the learned Bishop's remarks imply, for fixing the date of *publication* as post-Montanistic, is the fact that Tertullian alludes, in the opening sentences, to B. i. Hence B. ii. could not, in its present form, have appeared till after B. i. Now B. i. contains evident marks of Montanism : see the last chapter, for instance. But the writer speaks (in the same passage) of B. ii. as being *the* treatise, the ill fate of which *in its unfinished condition* he there relates—at least such seems the legitimate sense of his words—*now remodelled.* Hence, *when originally written*, it may *not* have been Montanistic.—TR.]

[4] Ref. to in *de Res. Carn.* 2, 17, 45 ; comp. cc. 18, 21.

[5] Ref. to in *de Carn. Chr.* 7. [6] Ref. to in *de Res. Carn.* 2.

[7] [See the beginning and end of the *de Carne Christi.*—TR.] Ref. to in *adv. Marc.* v. 10.

[8] In c. 4 Tertullian speaks as if he had already refuted all the heretics.

NEANDER.	KAYE.
25. De Cor. Mil.	20. De Corona Militis.
26. De Virg. Vel.	21. De Virginibus Velandis.
27. De Ex. Cast.	22. De Exhortatione Castitatis.
28. De Monog.	23. De Fuga in Persecutione.
29. De Jejuniis.	24. De Monogamia.[1]
30. De Pudicitia.	25. De Jejuniis.
31. De Pallio.	26. De Pudicitia.
32. Scorpiace.	
33. Ad Scapulam.	3. *Post-Montanist* (probably).
34. Adv. Valentinianos.	27. Adv. Valentinianos.
35. Adv. Hermogenem.	28. Ad Scapulam.
36. Adv. Praxeam.	29. De Spectaculis.[2]
37. Adv. Judæos.	30. De Idololatria.
38. De Fuga in Persecutione.	31. De Cultu Feminarum i.
	32. De Cultu Feminarum ii.
	4. *Works respecting which nothing certain can be pronounced.*
	33. The Apology.[3]
	34. Ad Nationes i.
	35. Ad Nationes ii.
	36. De Testimonio Animæ.
	37. De Pallio.
	38. Adv. Hermogenem.

A comparison of these two lists will show that the difference between the two great authorities "is," as Kaye remarks, "not great; and with respect to some of the tracts on which we differ, the learned author expresses himself

[1] Ref. to in *de Jej.* c. 1.

[2] Ref. to in *de Idolol.* 13; in *de Cult. Fem.* i. 8. In the *de Cor.* 6 is a reference to the Greek tract *de Spectaculis* by our author.

[3] [Archdeacon Evans, in his *Biography of the Early Church* (in the Theological Library), suggests that the success which the *Apology* met with, or at least the fame it brought its author, may have been the occasion of Tertullian's visit to Rome. He rejects entirely the supposition that Tertullian was a presbyter of the Roman church; nor does he think Eusebius' words, καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης λαμπρῶν (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2. 47 *ad fin.*, 48 *ad init.*), sufficiently plain to be relied on. One thing does seem pretty plain, that the rendering of them which Rufinus gives, and Valesius follows, "inter nostros" (*sc.* Latinos) "Scriptores admodum clarus," cannot be correct. That we find a famous Roman lawyer Tertullianus, or Tertyllianus, among the writers fragments of whom are preserved in the Pandects, Neander reminds us; but (as he says) it by no means follows, even if it could be proved that the date of the said lawyer corresponded with the supposed date of our Tertullian, that they were identical. Still it is worth bearing in mind,

with great diffidence."[1] The main difference, in fact, is that which affects the *de Spectaculis*, *de Idololatria* (two tracts upon kindred subjects), *de Cultu Feminarum* (a subject akin to the other two), and the *adv. Judæos*. With reference to all these, except the last, to which I believe the Archdeacon does not once refer, the Bishop's opinion appears to have the support of Archdeacon Evans, whose learned and interesting essay, referred to in the note, appears in a volume published in 1837. (Dr. Kaye's Lectures, on which his book is founded, were delivered in 1825. Of the date of his first edition I am not aware. Dr. Neander's *Antignosticus* also first appeared in 1825. The preface to his second edition bears date July 1, 1849.[2]) As to the *adv. Judæos*, I confess I agree with Neander in thinking that, at all events from the beginning of c. 9, it is spurious. If it be urged that Jerome expressly quotes it as Tertullian's, I reply, Jerome so quotes it, I believe, when he is expounding *Daniel*. Now all that the *adv. Jud.* has to say about *Daniel* ends with the end of c. 8. It is therefore quite compatible with the fact thus stated to recognise the earlier half of the book as genuine, and to reject the rest, *beginning*, as it happens, just *after* the eighth chapter, as spurious. Perhaps Dr. Neander's Jewish birth and training peculiarly fit him to be heard on this question. Nor do I think Professor Ramsay (in the article above alluded to) has quite seen the force of Kaye's own remarks on Neander.[3] What he does say is equally creditable to his candour and his accuracy; namely: "The instances alleged by Dr. Neander, in proof of this position, are undoubtedly very remarkable; but if the concluding chapters of the tract are spurious, no ground seems to be left for asserting that the genuine portion was posterior to the third

especially as a similarity of language exists, or has been thought to exist, between the jurist and the Christian author. And the juridical language and tone of our author do seem to point to his having, though Mr. Evans regards that as doubtful, been a trained lawyer.—Tr.]

[1] Kaye, as above. Pref. to 2d ed. pp. xxi. xxii. [incorporated in the 3d ed., which I always quote.—Tr.].

[2] *i.e.* four years *after* Kaye's *third*.

[3] See Pref. 2d ed. p. xix. n. 9.

Book against Marcion,"—it being from that book that the quotations are taken which make up the remainder of the tract,[1]—"and none, consequently, for asserting that it was written by a Montanist." With which remark I must draw these observations on the genuine extant works of Tertullian to a close.

The next point to which a brief reference must be made is the *lost works* of Tertullian. Lists of these are given both by Oehler and by Kaye, viz.:

1. A Book on Aaron's Robes: mentioned by Jerome, Epist. 128, *ad Fabiolam de Veste Sacerdotali* (tom. ii. p. 586, Opp. ed. Bened.).

2. A Book on the Superstition of the Age.[2]

3. A Book on the Submission of the Soul.

4. A Book on the Flesh and the Soul.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are known only by their titles, which are found in the Index to Tertullian's works given in the *Codex Agobardi;* but the tracts themselves are not extant in the MS., which appears to have once contained—

5. A Book on Paradise, named in the Index, and referred to in *de Anima* 55, *adv. Marc.* iii. 12; and

6. A Book on the Hope of the Faithful: also named in the Index, and referred to *adv. Marc.* iii. 24; and by Jerome in his account of Papias (*Catal. Scriptt. Eccles.* c. 18), and on Ezek. xxxvi. (p. 952, tom. iii. Opp. ed. Bened.); and by Gennadius (of Marseilles), *de Ecclesiæ dogmatibus*, c. 55.

7. Six Books on Ecstasy, with a seventh in reply to Apollonius: referred to in *adv. Marc.* iv. 22;[3] and by Jerome, *de Scriptt. Eccles.* 53, 24, 40. See, too, J. A. Fabricius on the words of the unknown author whom the Jesuit Sirmond edited under the name *Prædestinatus;* who gathers thence that "Soter, Pope of the City,[4] and Apollonius, bishop[5] of

[1] As Semler, worthless as his theories are, has well shown.

[2] "Sæculi;" or "of the world," or perhaps "of heathenism."

[3] So Kaye thinks; but perhaps the reference is doubtful. See, however, the passage in Dr. Holmes' translation in the present series, with his note thereon.

[4] *i.e.* Rome.

[5] Antistes.

the Ephesians, wrote a book against the Montanists; *in reply to whom* Tertullian, a Carthaginian presbyter, wrote." J. Pamelius thinks these seven books were originally published *in Greek.*

8. A Book in reply to the Apellesites (*i.e.* the followers of Apelles[1]): referred to in *de Carne Christi*, c. 8.

9. A Book on the Origin[2] of the Soul, in reply to Hermogenes: referred to in *de Anima*, cc. 1, 3, 22, 24.

10. A Book on Fate: referred to by Fulgentius Planciades, p. 562, Merc.; also referred to as either written, or intended to be written, by Tertullian himself, *de Anima*, c. 20. Jerome (*Catal. Scriptt. Eccles.* c. 58) states that there was extant (or had been extant) a book on Fate under the name of Minucius Felix, written indeed by a perspicuous author, but not in the style of Minucius Felix. This, Pamelius judged, should perhaps be rather ascribed to Tertullian.

11. A Book on the Trinity. Jerome (*Catal. Scriptt. Eccles.* c. 70) says: "Novatian wrote . . . and a large volume on the Trinity, *as if making an epitome of a work of Tertullian's, which most men not knowing regard it as Cyprian's.*" Novatian's book stood in Tertullian's name in the MSS. of J. Gangneius, who was the first to edit it; in a Malmesbury MS. which Sig. Gelenius used; and in others.

12. A Book addressed to a Philosophic Friend on the Straits of Matrimony. Both Kaye and Oehler[3] are in doubt whether Jerome's words (*Epist. ad Eustochium de Custodia Virginitatis*, p. 37, tom. iv. Opp. ed. Bened.; *adv. Jovin.* i. p. 157, tom. iv. Opp. ed. Bened.), by which some have been led to conclude that Tertullian wrote some book or books on this and kindred subjects, really imply as much, or whether they may not refer merely to those tracts and passages in his extant writings which touch upon such matters. Kaye hesitates to think that the "Book to a Philosophic Friend" is the same as the *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, because Jerome

[1] A Marcionite at one time: he subsequently set up a sect of his own. He is mentioned in the *adv. omn. Hær.* c. 6.

[2] Censu.

[3] Oehler speaks more decidedly than Kaye.

says Tertullian wrote on the subject of celibacy "*in his youth;*" but as Cave takes what Jerome elsewhere says of Tertullian's leaving the church "*about the middle of his age*" to mean his *spiritual age*, the same sense might attach to his words here too, and thus obviate the Bishop's difficulty.

There are some other works which have been attributed to Tertullian—on Circumcision; on Animals Clean and Unclean; on the truth that God is a Judge—which Oehler likewise rejects, believing that the expressions of Jerome refer only to passages in the *Anti-Marcion* and other extant works. To Novatian Jerome does ascribe a distinct work on Circumcision (in the *Catal. Scriptt. Eccles.*), and this may (comp. 11, just above) have given rise to the view that Tertullian had written one also.

There were, moreover, three treatises at least written by Tertullian *in Greek*. They are:

A Book on Public Shows. See *de Cor.* c. 6.

A Book on Baptism. See *de Bapt.* c. 15.

A Book on the Veiling of Virgins. See *de V. V.* c. 1.

Oehler adds that J. Pamelius, in his epistle dedicatory to Philip II. of Spain, makes mention of a *Greek copy* of Tertullian in the library of that king. This report, however, since nothing has ever been seen or heard of the said copy from that time, Oehler judges to be erroneous.[1]

It remains briefly to notice the confessedly spurious works which the editions of Tertullian generally have appended to them. With these Kaye does not deal. The fragment, *adv. omnes Hæreses*, Oehler attributes to Victorinus Petavionensis (*i.e.* Victorinus bishop of Pettaw, on the Drave, in Austrian Styria. It was once thought he ought to be called *Pictaviensis*, *i.e.* of *Poictiers;* but John Launoy [doctor of the Sorbonne, said by Bossuet to have proved himself "a semi-Pelagian and Jansenist!" born, in 1603, in Normandy, died in 1678] has shown this to be an error). Victorinus is said by Jerome to have "understood Greek better than Latin; hence his works are excellent for the sense, but mean as to

[1] "Mendacem" is his word. I know not whether he intends to charge Pamelius with wilful fraud.

the style" [Jer. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 74]. Cave believes him to have been a Greek by birth. Cassiodorus [b. 470, d. 560] states him to have been once a professor of rhetoric. Jerome's statement agrees with the style of the tract in question; and Jerome distinctly says Victorinus did write *adversus omnes Hæreses.* Allix leaves the question of its authorship quite uncertain. If Victorinus be the author, the book falls clearly within the ante-Nicene period; for Victorinus fell a martyr in the Diocletian persecution, probably about A.D. 303.

The next fragment — "Of the Execrable Gods of the Heathens"—is of quite uncertain authorship. Oehler would attribute it "to some declaimer not quite ignorant of Tertullian's writings," but certainly not to Tertullian himself.

Lastly we come to the metrical fragments. Concerning these, it is perhaps impossible to assign them to their rightful owners. Oehler has not troubled himself much about them; but he seems to regard the *Jonah* as worthy of more regard than the rest, for he seems to have intended giving more labour to its editing at some future time. Whether he has ever done so, or given us his German version of Tertullian's own works, which, "si Deus adjuverit," he distinctly promises in his preface, I do not know. Perhaps the best thing to be done under the circumstances is to give the judgment of the learned Peter Allix. It may be premised that by the celebrated George Fabricius[1]—who published his great work, *Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana*, etc., in 1564—the *Five Books in Reply to Marcion*, and the *Judgment of the Lord*, are ascribed to Tertullian, the *Genesis* and *Sodom* to Cyprian. Pamelius likewise seems to have ascribed the *Five Books*, the *Jonah*, and the *Sodom*[2] to Tertullian; and according to Lardner, Bishop Bull likewise attributed the *Five Books* to him.[3] They have been generally ascribed to

[1] He must not be confounded with the still more famous John Albert Fabricius of the next century, referred to in p. xv. above.

[2] Whole of these metrical fragments.

[3] Lardner, *Credibility*, vol. iii. p. 169, under "Victorinus of Pettaw" (ed. Kippis, Lond. 1838).

the Victorinus above mentioned. Tillemont, among others, thinks they may well enough be his.[1] Rigaltius is content to demonstrate that they are not Tertullian's, but leaves the real authorship without attempting to decide it. Of the others the same eminent critic says, "They seem to have been written at Carthage, at an age not far removed from Tertullian's."[2] Allix, after observing that Pamelius is inconsistent with himself in attributing the *Genesis* and *Sodom* at one time to Tertullian, at another to Cyprian, rejects both views equally, and assigns the *Genesis* with some confidence to Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, whose "floruit" Cave gives *cir.* 440, a contemporary of Gennadius, and a copious author. To this it is, Allix thinks, that Gennadius alludes in his *Catalogue of Illustrious Men*, c. 77.

The *Judgment of the Lord* Allix ascribes to one Verecundus, an African bishop, whose date he finds it difficult to decide exactly. He refers to two of the name: one Bishop of Tunis, whom Victor of Tunis in his chronicle mentions as having died in exile at Chalcedon A.D. 552; the other Bishop of Noba, who visited Carthage with many others A.D. 482, at the summons of King Huneric, to answer there for their faith; — and would ascribe the poem to the former, thinking that he finds an allusion to it in the article upon that Verecundus in the *de Viris Illustribus* of Isidore of Seville. Oehler agrees with him. The *Five Books* Allix seems to hint *may* be attributed to some imitator of the Victorinus of Pettaw named above. Oehler attributes them rather to one Victorinus (or Victor) of Marseilles, a rhetorician, who died about A.D. 450. He appears in G. Fabricius as Claudius Marius Victorinus, writer of a *Commentary on Genesis*, and an epistle *ad Salomonem Abbata*, both in verse, and of some considerable length.

[1] See Lardner, as above.

[2] See Migne, who prefixes this judgment of Rig. to the *de Judicio Domini.*

ON EXHORTATION TO CHASTITY.

CHAP. I.—*Introduction. Virginity classified under three several species.*

DOUBT not, brother, that after the premission in peace of your wife, you being wholly bent upon the composing of your mind [to a right frame], are seriously thinking about the end of your lone life, and of course are standing in need of counsel. Although, in cases of this kind, each individual ought to hold colloquy with his own faith, and consult its strength; still, inasmuch as, in this [particular] species [of trial], the *necessity of the flesh* (which generally is faith's antagonist at the bar of the same inner consciousness [to which I have alluded]) sets cogitation astir, faith has need of counsel from without, as an advocate, as it were, to oppose the *necessities of the flesh:* which necessity, indeed, may very easily be circumscribed, if the *will* rather than the *indulgence* of God be considered. No one deserves [favour] by availing himself of the indulgence, but by rendering a prompt obedience to the will, [of his master].[1] The will of God is our sanctification,[2] for He wishes His "image"—us—to become likewise His "likeness;"[3] that we may be "holy" just as Himself is "holy."[4] That good—sanctification, I mean—I distribute into several species, that in some one of those species we may be found. The first species is, virginity from one's birth: the second, virginity from one's *second* birth, that is, from the font;

[1] Comp. c. iii. and the references there. [2] 1 Thess. iv. 3.
[3] Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 7, where the Greek is εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα.
[4] Lev. xi. 44; 1 Pet. i. 16.

which [second virginity] either in the marriage state keeps [its subject] pure by mutual compact,[1] or else perseveres in widowhood from choice: a third grade remains, monogamy, when, after the interception of a marriage once contracted, there is thereafter a renunciation of sexual connection. The first virginity is [the virginity] of happiness, [and consists in] total ignorance of that from which you will afterwards wish to be freed: the second, of virtue, [and consists in] contemning that the power of which you know full well: the remaining species, [that] of marrying no more after the disjunction of matrimony by death, besides being the glory of virtue, is [the glory] of moderation likewise;[2] for moderation is the not regretting a thing which has been taken away, and taken away by the Lord God,[3] without whose will neither does a leaf glide down from a tree, nor a sparrow of one farthing's worth fall to the earth.[4]

CHAP. II.—*The blame of our misdeeds not to be cast upon God. The one power which rests with man is the power of* VOLITION.

What moderation, in short, is there in that utterance, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as seemed [good] to the Lord, so hath it been done!"[5] And accordingly, if we renew nuptials which have been taken away, doubtless we strive against the will of God, willing to have over again a thing which He has not willed us to have. For had He willed [that we should], He would not have taken it away; unless we interpret this, too, to be the will of God, as if He again willed us to have what He just now did not will. It is not the part of good and solid faith to refer all things to the will of God in such a manner as that; and that each individual should so flatter[6] himself by saying that "nothing is done without His permission," as to make us fail to understand that there is a something in our own power. Else

[1] Comp. 1 Cor. vii. 5; and *ad Ux.* b. i. c. vi.
[2] Comp. *ad Ux.* b. i. c. viii.
[3] Comp. Job i. 21.
[4] Comp. Matt. x. 29.
[5] Job i. 21 (in LXX. and Vulg.).
[6] Adulari. Comp. *de Pœn.* c. vi. *sub init.; ad Ux.* b. i. c. iv. *ad init.*

every sin will be excused if we persist in contending that nothing is done by us without the will of God; and that definition will go to the destruction of [our] whole discipline, [nay], even of God Himself; if either He produce by[1] His own will things which He wills not, or else [if] there is nothing which God wills not. But as there are some things which He forbids, against which He denounces even eternal punishment —for, of course, things which He *forbids*, [and] by which withal He is *offended*, He does not *will*—so, too, on the contrary, what He *does* will, He enjoins and sets down as acceptable, and repays with the reward of eternity.[2] And so, when we have learnt from His precepts each [class of actions], what He does not will and what He does, we still have a volition and an arbitrating power of electing the one; just as it is written, "Behold, I have set before thee good and evil: for thou hast tasted of the tree of knowledge." And accordingly we ought not to lay to the account of the Lord's will that which lies subject to our own choice; [on the hypothesis] that He does not will, or else [positively] nills what is good, who does nill what is evil. Thus, it is a volition of our own when we will what is evil, in antagonism to God's will, who wills what is good. Further, if you inquire whence comes that volition whereby we will anything in antagonism to the will of God, I shall say, It has its source in ourselves. And I shall not make the assertion rashly—for you must needs correspond to the seed whence you spring—if indeed it be true, [as it is], that the originator of our race and our sin, Adam,[3] willed the sin which he committed. For the devil did not impose upon him the volition to sin, but subministered material to the volition. On the other hand, the will of God had come to be a question of obedience.[4] In like manner you, too, if you fail to obey God, who has trained you by setting before you the precept of free action, will, through the liberty of your will, willingly turn into the downward course of doing what God nills: and thus you think your-

[1] Or "from"—*de.*

[2] *i.e.* eternal *life:* as in *de Bapt.* c. ii.; *ad Ux.* b. i. c. vii. *ad init.*

[3] *De Pœn.* c. xii. *ad fin.*

[4] In obaudientiam venerat.

self to have been subverted by the devil; who, albeit he does *will* that you should will something which God nills, still does not *make* you will it, inasmuch as he did not *reduce* those our protoplasts to the volition of sin; nay, nor [did *reduce* them at all] against their will, or in ignorance as to what God nilled. For, of course, He nilled [a thing] to be done when He made death the destined consequence of its commission. Thus the work of the devil is one: to make trial whether you do will that which it rests with you to will. But when you *have* willed, it follows that he subjects you to himself; not by having *wrought* volition in you, but by having found a favourable opportunity in your volition. Therefore, since the only thing which is in our power is volition—and it is herein that our mind toward God is put to proof, whether we will the things which coincide with His will—deeply and anxiously must the will of God be pondered again and again, I say, [to see] what even in *secret* He may will.

Chap. III.—*Of indulgence and pure volition. The question illustrated from* 1 *Cor.* vii.

For what things are *manifest* we all know; and *in what sense* these very things are manifest must be thoroughly examined. For, albeit some things seem to savour of "the will of God," seeing that they are *allowed* by Him, it does not forthwith follow that everything which is *permitted* proceeds out of the mere and absolute will of him who permits. *Indulgence* is the source of all *permission*. And albeit indulgence is not independent of volition, still, inasmuch as it has its *cause* in him to whom the indulgence is granted, it comes (as it were) from *unwilling* volition, having experienced a producing cause of itself which *constrains* volition. See what is the nature of a volition of which some second party is the cause. There is, again, a second species of *pure* volition to be considered. God wills us to do some acts pleasing to[1] Himself, in which it is not indulgence which patronizes, but discipline which lords it. If, however, He has given a preference over these to some other acts—[acts], of course, which He *more* wills—

[1] Or, "decreed by."

is there a doubt that the acts which we are to pursue are those which He *more* wills; since those which He *less* wills (because He wills others *more*) are to be similarly regarded as if He did *not* will them? For, by showing what He *more* wills, He has effaced the lesser volition by the greater. And in as far as He has proposed each [volition] to your knowledge, in so far has He defined it to be your duty to pursue that which He has declared that He *more* wills. Then, if the object of His declaring has been that you may pursue that which He *more* wills; doubtless, unless you do so, you savour of contrariety to His volition, by savouring of contrariety to His *superior* volition; and you rather offend than merit reward, by doing what He wills indeed, and rejecting what He *more* wills. Partly, you sin; partly, if you sin not, still you deserve no reward. Moreover, is not even the unwillingness to deserve reward a sin?

If, therefore, second marriage finds the source of its allowance in that "will of God" which is called indulgence, we shall deny that that which has indulgence for its cause is volition pure; if in that to which some other—that, namely, which regards continence as more desirable—is preferred as superior, we shall have learned [by what has been argued above], that the not-superior is rescinded by the superior.

Suffer me to have touched upon these considerations, in order that I may now follow the course of the apostle's words. But, in the first place, I shall not be thought irreligious if I remark on what he himself professes; [namely], that he has introduced all *indulgence* in regard to marriage from his own [judgment]—that is, from human sense, not from divine prescript. For, withal, when he has laid down the definitive rule with reference to "the widowed and the unwedded," that they are to "marry if they cannot contain," because "better it is to marry than to burn,"[1] he turns round to the other class, and says: "But to the wedded I make official declaration—not indeed I, but the Lord." Thus he shows, by the transfer of his own personality to the Lord, that what he had said above he had pronounced not in the Lord's per-

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 8, 9.

son, but in his own: "Better it is to marry than to burn." Now, although that expression pertain to such as *are "apprehended" by the faith* in an unwedded or widowed condition, still, inasmuch as *all* cling to it with a view to licence in the way of marrying, I should wish to give a thorough treatment to the inquiry what kind of good he is pointing out which is "better than" a penalty; which cannot seem good but by comparison with something very bad; so that the reason why "marrying" is good, is that "burning" is worse. "Good" is worthy of the name if it continue to keep that name without comparison, I say not with evil, but even with some second good; so that, even if it *is* compared to some other good, and is by some other cast into the shade, it do nevertheless remain in possession of the name "good." If, however, it is the nature of an *evil* which is the means which compels the predicating "good," it is not so much "good" as a species of inferior evil, which by being obscured by a superior evil is driven to the name of good. Take away, in short, the condition of comparison, so as not to say, "Better it is to marry than to burn;" and I question whether you will have the hardihood to say, "Better it is to marry," not adding what that is which is better. Therefore what is not *better*, of course is not *good* either; inasmuch as you have taken away and removed the condition of comparison, which, while it makes the thing "better," so compels it to be regarded as "good." "Better it is to marry than to burn" is to be understood in the same way as, "Better it is to lack one eye than two:" if, however, you withdraw from the comparison, it will not be "better" to have one eye, inasmuch as it is not "good" either. Let none therefore catch at a defence [of marriage] from this paragraph, which properly refers to "the unmarried and widows," for whom no [matrimonial] conjunction is yet reckoned: although I hope I have shown that even such must understand the nature of the *permission*.

CHAP. IV.—*Further remarks upon the apostle's language.*

However, touching second marriage, we know plainly that the apostle has pronounced: "Thou hast been loosed from a

wife; seek not a wife. But if thou shalt marry, thou wilt not sin."[1] Still, as in the former case, he has introduced the order of this discourse too from his personal suggestion, not from a divine precept. But there is a wide difference between a precept of God and a suggestion of man. "Precept of the Lord," says he, "I have not; but I give advice, as having obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful."[2] In fact, neither in the gospel nor in Paul's own epistles will you find a precept of God as the source whence repetition of marriage is permitted. Whence the doctrine that unity [of marriage] must be observed derives confirmation; inasmuch as that which is not found to be *permitted* by the Lord is acknowledged to be *forbidden*. Add [to this consideration] the fact, that even this very introduction of human advice, as if already beginning to reflect upon its own extravagance, immediately restrains and recalls itself, while it subjoins, "However, such shall have pressure of the flesh;" while he says that he "spares them;" while he adds that "the time is wound up," so that "it behoves even such as have wives to act as if they had not;" while he compares the solicitude of the wedded and of the unwedded: for, in teaching, by means of these considerations, the reasons why marrying is not expedient, he dissuades from that to which he had above granted indulgence. And this is the case with regard to first marriage: how much more with regard to second! When, however, he exhorts us to the imitation of his own example, of course, in showing what he *does* wish us to be; that is, continent; he equally declares what he does *not* wish us to be, that is, *in*continent. Thus he, too, while he *wills* one thing, gives no spontaneous or true permission to that which he nills. For had he willed, he would not have *permitted;* nay, rather, he would have *commanded.* "But see again: a woman when her husband is dead, he says, can marry, if she wish to marry any one, only 'in the Lord.'" Ah! but "happier will she be," he says, "if she shall remain permanently as she is, according to my opinion. I think, moreover, I too have the Spirit of God." We see

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 27. [2] Or, "to be a believer;" ver. 26.

two advices: [that] whereby, above, he grants the indulgence of marrying; and [that] whereby, just afterwards, he teaches continence with regard to marrying. "To which, then," you say, "shall we assent?" Look at them carefully, and choose. In granting indulgence, he alleges the advice of a prudent *man;* in enjoining continence, he affirms the advice of the HOLY SPIRIT. Follow the admonition which has divinity for its patron. It is true that believers likewise "have the Spirit of God;" but not all believers are apostles. When, then, he who had called himself a "believer," added thereafter that he "had the Spirit of God," which no one would doubt even in the case of an [ordinary] believer; his reason for saying so was, that he might re-assert for himself apostolic dignity. For apostles have the Holy Spirit properly, who have Him fully, in the operations of prophecy, and the efficacy of [healing] virtues, and the evidences of tongues; not partially, as all others have. Thus he attached the Holy Spirit's authority to that form [of advice] to which he willed us rather to attend; and forthwith it became not an *advice* of the Holy Spirit, but, in consideration of His majesty, a *precept.*

CHAP. V.—*Unity of marriage taught by its first institution, and by the apostle's application of that primal type to Christ and the church.*

For the laying down[1] of the law of once marrying, the very origin of the human race is our authority; witnessing as it emphatically does what God constituted in the beginning for a type to be examined with care by posterity. For when He had moulded man, and had foreseen that a peer was necessary for him, He borrowed from his ribs one, and fashioned for him one woman;[2] whereas, of course, neither the Artificer nor the material would have been insufficient [for the creation of more]. There were more ribs in Adam, and hands that knew no weariness in God; but not more wives[3] in the eye of God.[4] And accordingly the man of

[1] Dirigendam.
[2] Gen. ii. 21, 22.
[3] Or, "but no plurality of wives."
[4] Apud Deum.

God, Adam, and the woman of God, Eve, discharging mutually [the duties of] one marriage, sanctioned for mankind a type by [the considerations of] the authoritative precedent of their origin and the primal will of God. Finally, "there shall be," said He, "two in one flesh,"[1] not three nor four. On any other hypothesis, there would no longer be "one flesh," nor "two [joined] into one flesh." These will be so, if the conjunction and the growing together in unity take place *once for all.* If, however, [it take place] a second time, or oftener, immediately [the flesh] ceases to be "one," and there will not be "two [joined] into one flesh," but plainly one rib [divided] into more. But when the apostle interprets, "The two shall be [joined] into one flesh,"[2] of the church and Christ, according to the spiritual nuptials of the church and Christ (for Christ is one, and one is His church), we are bound to recognise a duplication and additional enforcement for *us* of the law of unity of marriage, not only in accordance with the foundation of our race, but in accordance with the sacrament of Christ. From one marriage do we derive our origin in each case; carnally in Adam, spiritually in Christ. The two births combine in laying down one prescriptive rule of monogamy. In regard of each of the two, is he degenerate who transgresses the limit of monogamy. Plurality of marriage began with an accursed man. Lamech was the first who, by marrying himself to two women, caused *three* to be [joined] "into one flesh."[3]

Chap. vi.—*The objection from the polygamy of the patriarchs answered.*

"But withal the blessed patriarchs," you say, "made mingled alliances not only with more wives [than one], but with concubines likewise." Shall that, then, make it lawful for us also to marry without limit? I grant that it will, if there still remain types—sacraments of something future—for your nuptials to figure; or if even now there is room for that command, "Grow and multiply;"[4] that is, if no other

[1] Gen. ii. 24.
[2] Eph. v. 31.
[3] Gen. iv. 18, 19.
[4] Gen. i. 28.

command has yet supervened: "The time is already wound up; it remains that both they who have wives act as if they had not:" for, of course, by enjoining continence, and restraining concubitance, the seminary of our race, [this latter command] has abolished that "Grow and multiply." As I think, moreover, each pronouncement and arrangement is [the act] of one and the same God; who did then indeed, in the beginning, send forth a sowing of the race by an indulgent laxity granted to the reins of connubial alliances, until the world should be replenished, until the material of the new discipline should attain to forwardness: now, however, at the extreme boundaries of the times, has checked [the command] which He had sent out, and recalled the indulgence which He had granted; not without a reasonable ground for the extension [of that indulgence] in the beginning, and the limitation [1] of it in the end. Laxity is always allowed to the beginning [of things]. The reason why any one plants a wood and lets it grow, is that at his own time he may cut it. The wood was the old order, which is being pruned down by the new gospel, in which withal "the axe has been laid at the roots." [2] So, too, "Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth," [3] has now grown old, ever since "Let none render evil for evil" [4] grew young. I think, moreover, that even with a view to *human* institutions and decrees, things later prevail over things primitive.

CHAP. VII. — *Even the old discipline was not without precedents to enforce monogamy. But in this as in other respects, the new has brought in a higher perfection.*

Why, moreover, should we not rather recognise, from among [the store of] primitive precedents, those which communicate with the later [order of things] in respect of discipline, and transmit to novelty the typical form of antiquity? For look, in the old law I find the pruning-

[1] Repastinationis. Comp. *de Cult. Fem.* l. ii. c. ix., *repastinantes.*
[2] Comp. Matt. iii. 10.
[3] Ex. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21; Matt. v. 38.
[4] See Rom. xii. 17; Matt. v. 39; 1 Thess. v. 16.

knife applied to the licence of repeated marriage. There is a caution in Leviticus: "My priests shall not pluralize marriages."[1] I may affirm even that that is plural which is not once for all. That which is not unity is number. In short, after unity begins number. Unity, moreover, is everything which is once for all. But for Christ was reserved, as in all other points so in this also, the "fulfilling of the law."[2] Thence, therefore, among *us* the prescript is more fully and more carefully laid down, that they who are chosen into the sacerdotal order must be men of one marriage;[3] which rule is so rigidly observed, that I remember some removed from their office for digamy. But you will say, "Then all others may [marry more than once], whom he excepts." Vain shall we be if we think that what is not lawful for priests[4] is lawful for laics. Are not even we laics priests? It is written: "A kingdom also, and priests to His God and Father, hath He made us."[5] It is the authority of the church, and the honour which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize, and are priest, alone for yourself. But where three are, a church is, albeit they be laics. For each individual lives by his own faith,[6] nor is there exception of persons with God; since it is not hearers of the law who are justified by the Lord, but doers, according to what the apostle withal says.[7] Therefore, if you have the *right* of a priest in your own person, in cases of necessity, it behoves you to have likewise the *discipline* of a priest whenever it may be necessary to have the right of a priest. If you are a digamist, do you baptize? If you are a digamist,

[1] I cannot find any such passage. Oehler refers to Lev. xxi. 14; but neither the LXX. nor the Vulgate have any such prohibition there.

[2] Matt. v. 17, very often referred to by Tertullian.

[3] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2; Tit. i. 5, 6; and Ellicott's *Commentary.*

[4] Sacerdotibus.

[5] Rev. i. 6.

[6] See Hab. ii. 4; Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38.

[7] Rom. ii. 13; Eph. vi. 9; Col. iii. 25; 1 Pet. i. 17; Deut. x. 17.

do you offer? How much more capital [a crime] is it for a digamist laic to act as a priest, when the priest himself, if he turn digamist, is deprived of the power of acting the priest! "But to necessity," you say, "indulgence is granted." No necessity is excusable which is avoidable. In a word, shun to be found guilty of digamy, and you do not expose yourself to the necessity of administering what a digamist may not lawfully administer. God wills us all to be so conditioned, as to be ready at all times and places to undertake [the duties of] His sacraments. There is "one God, one faith,"[1] one discipline too. So truly is this the case, that unless the laics as well observe the rules which are to guide the choice of presbyters, how will there be presbyters [at all], who are chosen to that office from among the laics? Hence we are bound to contend that the command to abstain from second marriage relates *first* to the laic; so long as no other can be a presbyter than a laic, provided he have been *once for all* a husband.

Chap. viii.—*If it be granted that second marriage is lawful, yet all things lawful are not expedient.*

Let it now be granted that repetition of marriage is lawful, if everything which is lawful is good. The same apostle exclaims: "All things are lawful, but all are not profitable."[2] Pray, can what is "not profitable" be called good? If even things which do not make for salvation are "lawful," it follows that even things which are not good are "lawful." But what will it be your duty rather to choose; that which is good because it is "lawful," or that which is so because it is "profitable?" A wide difference I take to exist between "licence" and salvation. Concerning the "good" it is not said "it is lawful;" inasmuch as "good" does not expect to be permitted, but to be assumed. But that is "permitted" about which a doubt exists whether it be "good;" which may likewise *not* be permitted, if it have not some first [extrinsic] cause of its being:—inasmuch as it is *on account of the danger of incontinence* that second marriage, [for instance], is per-

[1] Eph. iv. 5, 6. [2] 1 Cor. x. 23.

mitted:—because, unless the "licence" of some not [absolutely] good thing were subject [to our choice], there were no means of proving who rendered a willing obedience to the Divine will, and who to his own power; which of us follows presentatility, and which embraces the opportunity of licence. "Licence," for the most part, is a trial of discipline; since it is through trial that discipline is proved, [and] through "licence" that trial operates. Thus it comes to pass that "all things are lawful, but not all are expedient," so long as [it remains true that] whoever has a "permission" granted is [thereby] tried, and is [consequently] judged during the process of trial in [the case of the particular] "permission." Apostles, withal, had a "licence" to marry, and lead wives about [with them[1]]. They had a "licence," too, to "live by the gospel."[2] But he who, when occasion required,[3] "did not use this right," provokes us to imitate his own example; teaching us that our probation consists in that wherein "licence" has laid the groundwork for the experimental proof of abstinence.

CHAP. IX.—*Second marriage a species of adultery. Marriage itself impugned, as akin to adultery.*

If we look deeply into his meanings, and interpret them, second marriage will have to be termed no other than a species of fornication. For, since he says that married persons make this their solicitude, "how to please one another"[4] (not, of course, *morally*, for a good solicitude he would not impugn); and [since] he wishes them to be understood to be solicitous about dress, and ornament, and every kind of personal attraction, with a view to increasing their power of allurement; [since], moreover, to please by personal beauty and dress is the genius of carnal concupiscence, which again is the cause of fornication: pray, does second marriage seem to you to border upon fornication, since in it are detected those ingredients which are appropriate to fornication? The Lord Himself said, "Whoever has seen a woman with a view

[1] See 1 Cor. ix. 5. [2] See vers. 4, 9–18. [3] In occasionem.
[4] Sibi, "themselves," *i.e.* mutually. See 1 Cor. vii. 32–35.

to concupiscence, has already violated her in his heart."[1] But has he who has seen her with a view to marriage done so less or more? What if he have even married her?—which he would not do had he not desired her with a view to marriage, and seen her with a view to concupiscence; unless it is possible for a wife to be married whom you have not seen or desired. I grant it makes a wide difference whether a married man or an unmarried desire another woman. Every woman, [however], even to an unmarried man, is "another," so long as she belongs to some one else; nor yet is the mean through which she becomes a married woman any other than that through which withal [she becomes] an adulteress. It is laws which seem to make the difference between marriage and fornication; through diversity of illicitness, not through the nature of the thing itself. Besides, what is the thing which takes place in all men and women to produce marriage and fornication? Commixture of the flesh, of course; the concupiscence whereof the Lord put on the same footing with fornication. "Then," says [some one], "are you by this time destroying first—that is, single—marriage too?" And not without reason [if I am]; inasmuch as it, too, consists of that which is the essence of fornication.[2] Accordingly, the best thing for a man is not to touch a woman; and accordingly the virgin's is the principal sanctity,[3] because it is free from affinity with fornication. And since these considerations may be advanced, even in the case of first and single marriage, to forward the cause of continence, how much more will they afford a prejudgment for refusing second marriage? Be thankful if God has once for all granted you indulgence to marry. Thankful, moreover, you will be if you know not that He has granted you that indulgence a second time. But you abuse indulgence if you avail yourself of it without moderation. Moderation is understood [to be derived] from *modus*, [a limit]. It does not suffice you to have fallen back,

[1] Matt. v. 28. See *de Idol.* cc. ii. xxiii.; *de Pœn.* c. iii.; *de Cult. Fem.* l. ii. c. ii.; *de Pa.* c. vi.

[2] But compare, or rather contrast, herewith, *ad Ux.* l. i. cc. ii. iii.

[3] Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. viii.; c. i. above; and *de Virg. Vel.* c. x.

by marrying, from that highest grade of immaculate virginity; but you roll yourself down into yet a third, and into a fourth, and perhaps into more, after you have failed to be continent in the second stage; inasmuch as he who has treated about contracting second marriages has not willed to prohibit even more. Marry we, therefore, daily.[1] And marrying, let us be overtaken by the last day, like Sodom and Gomorrha; that day when the "woe" pronounced over "such as are with child and giving suck" shall be fulfilled, that is, over the married and the incontinent: for from marriage result wombs, and teats, and infants! And when an end of marrying? I believe after the end of living!

CHAP. X.—*Application of the subject. Advantages of widowhood.*

Renounce we things carnal, that we may at length bear fruits spiritual. Seize the opportunity—albeit not earnestly desired, yet favourable—of not having any one to whom to pay a debt, and by whom to be [yourself] repaid! You have ceased to be a debtor. Happy man! You have released[2] your debtor; sustain the loss. What if you come to feel that what we have called a loss is a gain? For continence will be a mean whereby you will traffic in[3] a mighty substance of sanctity: by parsimony of the flesh you will gain the Spirit. For let us ponder over our conscience itself, [to see] how different a man feels himself when he chances to be deprived of his wife. He savours spiritually. If he is making prayer to the Lord, he is near heaven. If he is bending over the Scriptures, he is "wholly in them."[4] If he is singing a psalm, he satisfies himself.[5] If he is adjuring a demon, he is confident in himself. Accordingly, the apostle added [the recommendation of] a temporary abstinence for the sake of adding an efficacy to prayers,[6] that we might know that what is profitable "for a time" should be always practised

[1] Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. v. *ad fin.*
[2] *D*imisisti al. *a*misisti = "you have lost."
[3] Or, "amass"—negotiaberis. See Luke xix. 15, in LXX. and Vulg.
[4] Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 15. [5] Placet sibi. [6] See 1 Cor. vii. 5.

by us, that it may be always profitable. Daily, every moment, prayer is necessary to men; of course continence [is so] too, since prayer is necessary. Prayer proceeds from conscience. If the conscience blush, prayer blushes. It is the spirit which conducts prayer to God. If the spirit be self-accused of a blushing[1] conscience, how will it have the hardihood to conduct prayer to the altar; seeing that, if prayer blush, the holy minister [of prayer] itself is suffused too? For there is a prophetic utterance of the Old Testament: "Holy shall ye be, because God is holy;"[2] and again: "With the holy thou shalt be sanctified; and with the innocent man thou shalt be innocent; and with the elect, elect."[3] For it is our duty so to walk in the Lord's discipline as is "worthy,"[4] not according to the filthy concupiscences of the flesh. For so, too, does the apostle say, that "to savour according to the flesh is death, but to savour according to the spirit is life eternal in Jesus Christ our Lord."[5] Again, through the holy prophetess Prisca[6] the gospel is thus preached: that "the holy minister knows how to minister sanctity." "For purity," says she, "is harmonious, and they see visions; and, turning their face downward, they even hear manifest voices, as salutary as they are withal secret." If this dulling [of the spiritual faculties], even when the carnal nature is allowed room for exercise in first marriage, averts the Holy Spirit; how much more when it is brought into play in second marriage!

Chap. xi.—*The more the wives, the greater the distraction of the spirit.*

For [in that case] the shame is double; inasmuch as, in second marriage, two wives beset the same husband—one in spirit, one in flesh. For the first wife you cannot hate, for whom you retain an even more religious affection, as being

[1] *i.e.* guilty.
[2] See Lev. xi. 44, 45, xix. 2, xx. 7.
[3] See Ps. xviii. 25, 26, esp. in Vulg. and LXX., where it is xvii. 26, 27.
[4] See Eph. iv. 1; Col. i. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 12.
[5] See Rom. viii. 5, 6, esp. in Vulg.
[6] A Marcionite prophetess, also called Priscilla.

already received into the Lord's presence; for whose spirit you make request; for whom you render annual oblations. Will you stand, then, before the Lord with as many wives as you commemorate in prayer; and will you offer for two; and will you commend those two [to God] by the ministry of a priest ordained [to his sacred office] on the score of monogamy, or else consecrated [thereto] on the score even of virginity, surrounded by widows married but to one husband? And will your sacrifice ascend with unabashed front, and—among all the other [graces] of a good mind—will you request for yourself and for your wife chastity?

CHAP. XII.—*Excuses commonly urged in defence of second marriage. Their futility, especially in the case of Christians, pointed out.*

I am aware of the excuses by which we colour our insatiable carnal appetite.[1] Our pretexts are: the necessities of props to lean on; a house to be managed; a family to be governed; chests[2] and keys to be guarded; the wool-spinning to be dispensed; food to be attended to; cares to be generally lessened. Of course the houses of none but married men fare well. The families of celibates, the estates of eunuchs, the fortunes of military men, or of such as travel without wives, have gone to rack and ruin! For are not we, too, soldiers? Soldiers, indeed, subject to all the stricter discipline, that we are subject to so great a General?[3] Are not we, too, travellers in this world?[4] Why, moreover, Christian, are you so conditioned, that you cannot [so travel] without a wife? "In my present [widowed] state, too, a consort in domestic works is necessary." [Then] take some spiritual wife. Take to yourself from among the widows one fair in faith, dowered with poverty, sealed with age. You will [thus] make a good marriage. A plurality of *such* wives is pleasing to God. "But Christians concern themselves about posterity"—[Chris-

[1] Comp. herewith, *ad Ux.* l. i. c. iv.

[2] Or, "purses."

[3] Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4; Heb. ii. 10.

[4] Or "age"—sæculo. Comp. Ps. xxxix. 12 (in LXX. xxxviii. 13, as in Vulg.) and Heb. xi. 13.

tians], to whom there is no to-morrow![1] Shall the servant of God yearn after heirs, who has disinherited himself from the world? And is it to be a reason for a man to repeat marriage, if from his first [marriage] he have no children? And shall he thus have, as the first benefit [resulting therefrom], this, that he should desire longer life, when the apostle himself is in haste to be "with the Lord?"[2] Assuredly, most free will he be from encumbrance in persecutions, most constant in martyrdoms, most prompt in distributions of his goods, most temperate in acquisitions; lastly, undistracted by cares will he die, when he has left children behind him—[children] perhaps to perform the last rites over his grave! Is it then, perchance, in [patriotic] forecast for the commonwealth that such [marriages] are contracted? for fear the states fail, if no rising generations be trained up? for fear the rights of law, for fear the branches of commerce, sink quite into decay? for fear the temples be quite forsaken? for fear there be none to raise the acclaim, "The lion for the Christians?"—for these are the acclaims which they desire to hear who go in quest of offspring! Let the well-known burdensomeness of children—especially in *our* case—suffice to counsel widowhood: [children] whom men are compelled by laws to undertake [the charge of]; because no wise man would ever willingly have desired sons! What, then, will you do if you succeed in filling your new wife with your own conscientious scruples? Are you to dissolve the conception by aid of drugs? I think to *us* it is no more lawful to hurt [a child] in process of birth, than one [already] born. But perhaps at that time of your wife's pregnancy you will have the hardihood to beg from God a remedy for so grave a solicitude, which [remedy], when it lay in your own power, you refused? Some [naturally] barren woman, I suppose, or [some woman] of an age already feeling the chill of years, will be the object of your forecasting search [when you are seeking a wife]. A course prudent enough, and, above all, worthy of a believer! For there is no woman whom we have believed to have borne [a child] when barren or old, when God so

[1] Comp. Matt. vi. 34; Jas. iv. 13–15. [2] Comp. Phil. i. 23.

willed! which He is all the more likely to do if any one, by the presumption of this foresight of his own, provoke emulation on the part of God. In fine, we know a case among our brethren, in which one of them took a barren woman in second marriage for his daughter's sake, and became as well for the second time a father as for the second time a husband.

CHAP. XIII.—*Examples from among the heathen, as well as from the church, to enforce the foregoing exhortation.*

To this my exhortation, best beloved brother, there are added even heathenish examples; which have often been set by ourselves as well [as by others] in evidence, when anything good and pleasing to God is, even among "strangers," recognised and honoured with a testimony. In short, monogamy among the heathen is so held in highest honour, that even virgins, when legitimately marrying, have a woman never married but once appointed them as brideswoman; (and if [you say that] "this is for the sake of the omen," of course it is for the sake of a *good* omen;) [and] again, that in some solemnities and official functions, single-husbandhood takes the precedence: at all events, the wife of a Flamen must be but once married, which is the law of the Flamen [himself] too. For the fact that the chief Pontiff himself must not iterate marriage is, of course, a glory to monogamy. When, however, Satan affects God's sacraments, it is a challenge to us; nay, rather, a cause for blushing, if we are slow to exhibit to God a continence which some render to the devil, by perpetuity sometimes of virginity, sometimes of widowhood. We have heard of Vesta's virgins, and Juno's at the town[1] of Achaia, and Apollo's among the Delphians, and Minerva's and Diana's in some places. We have heard, too, of continent *men*, and (among others) the priests of the famous Egyptian bull: women, moreover, [dedicated] to the African Ceres, in whose honour they even spontaneously abdicate matrimony, and so live to old age, shunning thenceforward all contact with males, even so much as the kisses of their sons. The devil,

[1] Ægium (Jos. Scaliger, in Oehler).

forsooth, has discovered, after voluptuousness, even a chastity which shall work perdition; that the guilt may be all the deeper of the Christian who refuses the chastity which helps to salvation! A testimony to us shall be, too, some of heathendom's women, who have won renown for their obstinate persistence in single-husbandhood: some Dido,[1] [for instance], who, refugee as she was on alien soil, when she ought rather to have desired, without any external solicitation, marriage with a king, did yet, for fear of experiencing a second union, prefer, contrariwise, to "burn" rather than to "marry;" or the famous Lucretia, who, albeit it was but once, by force, and against her will, that she had suffered [the violence of] a strange man, washed her stained flesh in her own blood, lest she should live, when no longer single-husbanded in her own esteem! A little more care will furnish you with more examples from our own [sisters]; and [examples], indeed, superior to the others, inasmuch as it is a greater thing to live in chastity than to die for it. Easier it is to lay down your life because you have lost a blessing, than to keep by living that for which you would rather die outright. How many men, therefore, and how many women, in Ecclesiastical Orders, owe their position to continence, who have preferred to be wedded to God; who have restored the honour of their flesh, and who have already dedicated themselves as sons of that [future] age, by slaying in themselves the concupiscence of lust, and that whole [propensity] which could not be admitted within Paradise![2] Whence it is presumable that such as shall wish to be received within Paradise, ought at length to begin to cease from that thing from which Paradise is intact.

[1] But Tertullian overlooks the fact that both Ovid and Virgil represent her as more than willing to marry *Æneas*.

[2] Comp. Matt. xxii. 29, 30; Mark xii. 24, 25; Luke xx. 34-36.

ON MONOGAMY.

Chap. I.—*Different views in regard to marriage held by Heretics, Psychics, and Spiritualists.*

ERETICS do away with marriages; Psychics accumulate them. The former marry not *even* once; the latter not *only* once. What dost thou, Law of the Creator? Between alien eunuchs and thine own grooms, thou complainest as much of the over-obedience of thine own household as of the contempt of strangers. They who abuse thee, do thee equal hurt with them who use thee not. In fact, neither is such continence laudable because it is heretical, nor such licence defensible because it is psychical. The former is blasphemous, the latter wanton; the former destroys the God of marriages, the latter puts Him to the blush. Among *us*, however, whom the recognition of spiritual gifts entitles to be deservedly called Spiritual, continence is as religious as licence is modest; since both the one and the other are in harmony with the Creator. Continence honours the law of marriage, licence tempers it; the former is not forced, the latter is regulated; the former recognises the power of free choice, the latter recognises a limit. We admit one marriage, just as we do one God. The law of marriage reaps an accession of honour where it is associated with shamefastness. But to the Psychics, since they receive not the Spirit, the things which are the Spirit's are not pleasing. Thus, so long as the things which are the Spirit's please them not, the things which are of the flesh will please, as being the contraries of the Spirit. "The flesh," saith [the apostle], "lusteth

against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh."[1] But what will the flesh "lust" after, except what is more *of* the flesh? For which reason withal, in the beginning, it became estranged from the Spirit. "My Spirit," saith [God], "shall not permanently abide in these men eternally,[2] for that they are flesh."[3]

Chap. II.—*The Spiritualists vindicated from the charge of novelty.*

And so they upbraid the discipline of monogamy with being a heresy; nor is there any other cause whence they find themselves compelled to deny the Paraclete more than the fact that they esteem Him to be the instituter of a novel discipline, and a discipline which they find most harsh: so that this is already the first ground on which we must join issue in a general handling [of the subject], whether there is room for maintaining that the Paraclete has taught any such thing as can either be charged with novelty, in opposition to catholic tradition,[4] or with burdensomeness, in opposition to the "light burden"[5] of the Lord.

Now concerning each point the Lord Himself has pronounced. For in saying, "I still have many things to say unto you, but ye are not yet able to bear them: when the Holy Spirit shall be come, He will lead you into all truth,"[6] He sufficiently, of course, sets before us that He will bring such [teachings] as may be esteemed alike *novel*, as having never before been published, and finally *burdensome*, as if that were the reason why they were not published. "It follows," you say, "that by this line of argument, anything you please which is novel and burdensome may be ascribed to the Paraclete, even if it have come from the adversary spirit." No, of course. For the adversary spirit would be apparent from the diversity of his preaching, beginning by adulterating the rule of faith, and so [going on to] adul-

[1] Gal. v. 17.

[2] In ævum; εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (LXX.); in æternum (Vulg.). [3] Gen. vi. 3.

[4] Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 2; 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6. Comp. the Gr. text and the Vulg. *in locis.* [5] See Matt. xi. 30.

[6] John xvi. 12, 13. Tertullian's rendering is not *verbatim.*

terating the order of discipline; because the corruption of that which holds the first grade, (that is, of faith, which is prior to discipline,) comes first. A man must of necessity hold heretical views of God first, and then of His institution. But the Paraclete, having many things to teach fully which the Lord deferred till He came, (according to the pre-definition,) will begin by bearing emphatic witness to Christ, [as being] such as we believe [Him to be], together with the whole order of God the Creator, and will glorify Him,[1] and will "bring to remembrance" concerning Him. And when He has thus been recognised [as the promised Comforter], on the ground of the cardinal rule, He will reveal those "many things" which appertain to disciplines; while the integrity of His preaching commands credit for these [revelations], albeit they be "novel," inasmuch as they are now in course of revelation, albeit they be "burdensome," inasmuch as not even *now* are they found bearable: [revelations], however, of none other Christ than [the One] who said that He had withal "other many things" which were to be fully taught by the Paraclete, no less burdensome to men of our own day than to them, by whom they were then "not yet able to be borne."

CHAP. III.—*The question of novelty further considered in connection with the words of the Lord and His apostles.*

But [as for the question] whether monogamy be "burdensome," let the still shameless "infirmity of the flesh" look to that: let us meantime come to an agreement as to whether it be "novel." This [even] broader assertion we make: that even if the Paraclete had in this our day definitively prescribed a virginity or continence total and absolute, so as not to permit the heat of the flesh to foam itself down even in single marriage, even thus He would seem to be introducing nothing of "novelty;" seeing that the Lord Himself opens "the kingdoms of the heavens" to "eunuchs,"[2] as being Himself, withal, a virgin; to whom looking, the apostle also

[1] See John xvi. 14.

[2] See Matt. xix. 12. Comp. *de Pa.* c. xiii.; *de Cult. Fem.* l. ii. c. ix.

—himself too for this reason abstinent—gives the preference to continence.[1] ["Yes"], you say, "but saving the law of marriage." Saving it, plainly, and we will see under what limitations; nevertheless already destroying it, in so far as he gives the preference to continence. "Good," he says, "[it is] for a man not to have contact with a woman." It follows that it is evil to have contact with her; for nothing is contrary to good except evil. And accordingly [he says], "It remains, that both they who have wives so be as if they have not,"[2] that it may be the more binding on them who have not to abstain from having them. He renders reasons, likewise, for so advising: that the unmarried think about God, but the married about how, in [their] marriage, each may please his [partner].[3] And I may contend, that what is *permitted* is not absolutely good.[4] For what is absolutely good is not *permitted*, but needs no asking to make it lawful. Permission has its cause sometimes even in *necessity*. Finally, in this case, there is no *volition* on the part of him who permits marriage. For his *volition* points another way. "I *will*," he says, "that you all so be as I too [am]."[5] And when he shows that [so to abide] is "better," what, pray, does he demonstrate himself to "will," but what he has premised is "better?" And thus, if he *permits* something other than what he has "willed"—permitting not voluntarily, but of necessity—he shows that what he has unwillingly granted as an indulgence is not absolutely good. Finally, when he says, "Better it is to marry than to burn," what sort of good must that be understood to be which is better than a penalty? which cannot seem "better" except when compared to a thing very bad? "Good" is that which keeps this name *per se*; without comparison—I say not with an evil, but even—with some other good: so that, even if it be compared to and overshadowed by another good, it nevertheless remains in

[1] See 1 Cor. vii. 1, 7, 37, 40; and comp. *de Ex. Cast.* c. iv.

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 29. [3] 1 Cor. vii. 32–34.

[4] Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. iii.; *de Cult. Fem.* l. ii. c. x. *sub fin.*; and *de Ex. Cast.* c. iii., which agrees nearly verbatim with what follows.

[5] 1 Cor. vii. 7, only the Greek is θέλω, not βούλομαι.

[possession of] the name of good. If, on the other hand, comparison with evil is the mean which obliges it to be called good; it is not so much "good" as a species of inferior evil, which, when obscured by a higher evil, is driven to the name of good. Take away, in short, the condition, so as not to say, "Better it is to marry than to burn;" and I question whether you will have the hardihood to say, "Better [it is] to marry," not adding *than what* it is better. This done, then, it becomes *not* "better;" and while not "better," not "good" either, the condition being taken away which, while making it "better" than another thing, in that sense obliges it to be considered "good." Better it is to lose one eye than two. If, however, you withdraw from the comparison of either evil, it will not be better to have one eye, because it is not even good.

What, now, if he accommodatingly grants all indulgence to marry on the ground of his own (that is, of human) sense, out of the necessity which we have mentioned, inasmuch as "better it is to marry than to burn?" In fact, when he turns to the second case, by saying, "But to the married I officially announce—not I, but the Lord"—he shows that those things which he had said above had not been [the dictates] of the Lord's authority, but of human judgment. When, however, he turns their minds back to continence, ("But I will you all so to be,") "I think, moreover," he says, "I too have the Spirit of God;" in order that, if he had granted any indulgence out of necessity, that, by the Holy Spirit's authority, he might recall. But John, too, when advising us that "we ought so to walk as the Lord withal did,"[1] of course admonished us to walk as well in accordance with sanctity of the flesh [as in accordance with His example in other respects]. Accordingly he says more manifestly: "And every [man] who hath this hope in Him maketh himself chaste, just as Himself withal is chaste."[2] For elsewhere, again, [we read]: "Be ye holy, just as He withal was holy"[3]—in

[1] 1 John ii. 6. [2] 1 John iii. 3.

[3] There is no such passage in any epistle of St. John. There is one similar in 1 Pet. i. 15.

the flesh, namely. For of the Spirit he would not have said [that], inasmuch as the Spirit is without any external influence recognised as "holy;" nor does He wait to be admonished to sanctity, which is His proper nature. But the flesh *is taught* sanctity; and that withal, in Christ, was holy.

Therefore, if all these [considerations] obliterate the licence of marrying, whether we look into the condition on which the licence is granted, or the preference of continence which is imposed, why, after the apostles, could not the same Spirit, supervening for the purpose of conducting disciplehood[1] into "all truth" through the gradations of the times (according to what the preacher says, "A time to everything"[2]), impose by this time a final bridle upon the flesh, no longer obliquely calling us away from marriage, but openly; since now more [than ever] "the time is become wound up,"[3]—about 160 years having elapsed since then? Would you not spontaneously ponder [thus] in your own mind: "This discipline is old, shown beforehand, even at that early date, in the Lord's flesh and will, [and] successively thereafter in both the counsels and the examples of His apostles? Of old we were destined to this sanctity. Nothing of novelty is the Paraclete introducing. What He premonished, He is [now] definitively appointing; what He deferred, He is [now] exacting." And presently, by revolving these thoughts, you will easily persuade yourself that it was much more competent to the Paraclete to preach unity of marriage, who could withal have preached its annulling; and that it is more credible that He should have tempered what it would have become Him even to have abolished, if you understand what Christ's "will" is. Herein also you ought to recognise the Paraclete in His character of Comforter, in that He excuses your infirmity[4] from [the stringency of] an absolute continence.

[1] Disciplinam.
[2] Eccles. iii. 1.
[3] 1 Cor. vii. 29.
[4] Comp. Rom. viii. 26.

CHAP. IV. — *Waiving allusion to the Paraclete, Tertullian comes to the consideration of the ancient Scriptures, and their testimony on the subject in hand.*

Waiving, now, the mention of the Paraclete, as of some authority of our own, evolve we the common instruments of the primitive Scriptures. This very thing is demonstrable by us: that the rule of monogamy is neither novel nor strange, nay rather, is both ancient, and proper to Christians; so that you may be sensible that the Paraclete is rather its *re*stitutor than *in*stitutor. As for what pertains to antiquity, what more ancient formal type can be brought forward, than the very original fount of the human race? One female did God fashion for the male, culling one rib of his, and (of course) [one] out of a plurality. But, moreover, in the introductory speech which preceded the work itself, He said, "It is not good for the man that he be alone; let us make an help-meet for him." For He would have said "helpers" if He had destined him to have more wives [than one]. He added, too, a law concerning the future; if, that is, [the words] "And two shall be [made] into one flesh"—not three, nor more; else they would be no more "two" if [there were] more—were prophetically uttered. The law stood [firm]. In short, the unity of marriage lasted to the very end in the case of the authors of our race; not because there were no other women, but because the reason *why* there were none was that the first-fruits of the race might not be contaminated by a double marriage. Otherwise, had God [so] willed, there *could* withal have been [others]; at all events, he might have taken from the abundance of his own daughters—having no less an Eve [taken] out of his own bones and flesh—if piety had allowed it to be done. But where the first crime [is found]—homicide, inaugurated in fratricide—no crime was so worthy of the second place as a double marriage. For it makes no difference whether a man have had two wives singly, or whether individuals [taken] at the same time have made two. The number of [the individuals] conjoined and separate is the same.

Still, God's institution, after once for all suffering violence through Lamech, remained firm to the very end of that race. Second Lamech there arose none, in the way of being husband to two wives. What Scripture does not note, it denies. Other iniquities provoked the deluge: [iniquities] once for all avenged, whatever was their nature; not, however, "seventy-seven times,"[1] which [is the vengeance which] double marriages have deserved.

But again: the re-formation of the second human race is traced from monogamy as its mother. Once more, "two [joined] into one flesh" undertake [the duty of] "growing and multiplying,"—Noah, [namely], and his wife, and their sons, in single marriage.[2] Even in the very animals monogamy is recognised, for fear that even beasts should be born of adultery. "Out of all beasts," said [God],[3] "out of all flesh, two shalt thou lead into the ark, that they may live with thee, male and female: they shall be [taken] from all flying animals according to [their] kind, and from all creepers of the earth according to their kind; two out of all shall enter unto thee, male and female." In the same formula, too, He orders sets of sevens, made up of pairs, to be gathered to him, consisting of male and female—one male and one female.[4] What more shall I say? Even unclean birds were not allowed to enter with two females each.

CHAP. V.—*Connection of these primeval testimonies with Christ.*

Thus far for the testimony of things primordial, and the sanction of our origin, and the pre-judgment of the divine institution, which of course is a law, not [merely] a memorial; inasmuch as, if it was "so done from the beginning," we find ourselves directed to the beginning by Christ: just as, in the question of divorce, by saying that that had been permitted by Moses on account of their hard-heartedness, but from the beginning it had not been so, He doubtless recalls to "the beginning" the [law of] the individuity of marriage.

[1] Septuagies septies. See Gen. iv. 19–24.
[2] Comp. Gen. vii. 7 with 1 Pet. iii. 20 *ad fin.*
[3] Comp. Gen. vi. 19, 20.
[4] See Gen. vii. 3.

And accordingly, those whom God "from the beginning" conjoined, "two into one flesh," man shall not at the present day separate.[1] The apostle, too, writing to the Ephesians, says that God "had proposed in Himself, at the dispensation of the fulfilment of the times, to recall to the head" (that is, to the beginning) "things universal in Christ, which are above the heavens and above the earth in Him."[2] So, too, the two letters of Greece, the first and the last, the Lord assumes to Himself, as figures of the beginning and end which concur in Himself: so that, just as Alpha rolls on till it reaches Omega, and again Omega rolls back till it reaches Alpha, in the same way He might show that in Himself is both the downward course of the beginning on to the end, and the backward course of the end up to the beginning; so that every economy, ending in Him through whom it began, —through the Word of God, that is, who was made flesh,[3]— may have an end correspondent to its beginning. And so truly in Christ are all things recalled to "the beginning," that even faith returns from circumcision to the integrity of that [original] flesh, as "it was from the beginning;" and freedom of meats and abstinence from blood alone, as "it was from the beginning;" and the individuity of marriage, as "it was from the beginning;" and the restriction of divorce, which *was not* "from the beginning;" and lastly, the whole man into Paradise, where he was "from the beginning." Why, then, ought He not to restore Adam thither at least as a monogamist, who cannot present him in so entire perfection as he was when dismissed thence? Accordingly, so far as pertains to the restitution of the beginning, the logic both of the dispensation you live under, and of your hope, exact this from you, that what was "from the beginning" [should be] in accordance with "the beginning;" which [beginning] you find counted in Adam, and recounted in Noah. Make your election, in which of the twain you account your "begin-

[1] See Matt. xix. 6.

[2] Eph. i. 9, 10. The Latin of Tertullian deserves careful comparison with the original Greek of St. Paul.

[3] See John i. 1–14.

ning." In both, the censorial power of monogamy claims you for itself. But again: if the beginning passes on to the end (as Alpha to Omega), as the end passes back to the beginning (as Omega to Alpha), and thus our origin is transferred to Christ, the animal to the spiritual—inasmuch as "[that was] not first which is spiritual, but [that] which [is] animal; then what [is] spiritual,"[1]—let us, in like manner [as before], see whether you owe this very [same] thing to this second origin also: whether the last Adam also meet you in the selfsame form as the first; since the last Adam (that is, Christ) was entirely unwedded, as was even the first Adam before his exile. But, presenting to your weakness the gift of the example of His own flesh, the more perfect Adam—that is, Christ, more perfect on this account as well [as on others], that He was more entirely pure—stands before you, if you are willing [to copy Him], as a voluntary celibate in the flesh. If, however, you are unequal [to that perfection], He stands before you a monogamist in spirit, having one church as His spouse, according to the figure of Adam and of Eve, which [figure] the apostle interprets of that great sacrament of Christ and the church, [teaching that], through the spiritual, it was analogous to the carnal monogamy. You see, therefore, after what manner, renewing your origin even in Christ, you cannot trace down that [origin] without the profession of monogamy; unless, [that is], you be in flesh what He is in spirit; albeit withal, what He was in flesh, you equally ought to have been.

Chap. vi.—*The case of Abraham, and its bearing on the present question.*

But let us proceed with our inquiry into some eminent chief fathers of our origin: for there are some to whom our monogamist parents Adam and Noah are not pleasing, nor perhaps Christ either. To Abraham, in fine, they appeal; prohibited though they are to acknowledge any other father than God.[2] Grant, now, that Abraham is our father; grant, too, that Paul is. "In the gospel," says he, "I have begotten

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 46.

[2] See Matt. xxiii. 9.

you."[1] Show yourself a son even of Abraham. For your origin in him, you must know, is not referable to every period of his life: there is a definite time at which he is your father. For if "faith" is the source whence we are reckoned to Abraham as his "sons" (as the apostle teaches, saying to the Galatians, "You know, consequently, that [they] who are of faith, these are sons of Abraham"[2]), *when* did Abraham "believe God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness?" I suppose when still in monogamy, since [he was] not yet in circumcision. But if afterwards he changed to either [opposite]—to digamy through cohabitation with his handmaid, and to circumcision through the seal of the testament—you cannot acknowledge him as your father except at that time when he "believed God," if it is true that it is according to *faith* that you are his son, not according to *flesh*. Else, if it be the later Abraham whom you follow as your father—that is, the digamist [Abraham]—receive him withal in his circumcision. If you reject his circumcision, it follows that you will refuse his digamy too. Two characters of his, mutually diverse in two several ways, you will not be able to blend. His digamy began with circumcision, his monogamy with uncircumcision.[3] You receive digamy; admit circumcision too. You retain uncircumcision; you are bound to monogamy too. Moreover, so true is it that it is of the monogamist Abraham that you are the son, just as of the uncircumcised, that if you be circumcised you immediately cease to be his son, inasmuch as you will not be "of faith," but of the *seal* of a faith which had been justified in uncircumcision. You have the apostle: learn [of him], together with the Galatians.[4] In like manner, too, if you have involved yourself in digamy, you are not the son of that Abraham whose "faith" preceded in monogamy. For albeit it is subsequently that he is called "a father of many nations,"[5] still it is of *those* [nations] who, as the fruit of the

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 15, where it is διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. [2] Gal. iii. 7.
[3] This is an error. Comp. Gen. xvi. with Gen. xvii.
[4] See Gal. iii. iv. and comp. Rom. iv.
[5] See Gen. xvii. 5.

"faith" which precedes digamy, had to be accounted "sons of Abraham."[1]

Thenceforward let matters see to themselves. Figures are one thing; laws another. Images are one thing; statutes another. Images pass away when fulfilled: statutes remain permanently to be fulfilled. Images prophesy; statutes govern. What that digamy of Abraham portends, the same apostle fully teaches,[2] the interpreter of each testament, just as he likewise lays it down that our "seed" is called in Isaac.[3] If you are "of the free woman," and belong to Isaac, he, at all events, maintained unity of marriage to the last.

These accordingly, I suppose, are they in whom my origin is counted. All others I ignore. And if I glance around at their examples—[examples] of some David heaping up marriages for himself even through sanguinary means, of some Solomon rich in wives as well as in other riches—you are bidden to "follow the better things;"[4] and you have withal Joseph but once wedded, and on this score I venture to say better than his father; you have Moses, the intimate eye-witness of God;[5] you have Aaron the chief priest. The second Moses, also, of the second People, who led our representatives into the [possession of] the promise of God, in whom the Name [of JESUS] was first inaugurated, was no digamist.

CHAP. VII.—*From patriarchal, Tertullian comes to legal, precedents.*

After the ancient examples of the patriarchs, let us equally pass on to the ancient documents of the legal Scriptures, that we may treat in order of all our canon. And since there are some who sometimes assert that they have nothing to do with the law (which Christ has not dissolved, but fulfilled),[6] sometimes catch at such parts of the law as they

[1] See Rom. iv. 11, 12, Gal. iii. 7; and comp. Matt. iii. 9, John viii. 39.
[2] See Gal. iv. 21–31. [3] See vers. 28, 31.
[4] See Ps. xxxvii. 27 (in LXX. xxxvi. 27); 1 Pet. iii. 11; 3 John 11.
[5] Dei de proximo arbitrum. See Num. xii. 6–8; Deut. xxxiv. 10.
[6] See Matt. v. 17.

choose; plainly do we too assert that the law has deceased in this sense, that its burdens—according to the sentence of the apostles—which not even the fathers were able to sustain,[1] have wholly ceased: such [parts], however, as relate to righteousness not only permanently remain reserved, but even amplified; in order, to be sure, that our righteousness may be able to redound above the righteousness of the scribes and of the Pharisees.[2] If "righteousness" must, of course chastity must too. If, then, forasmuch as there is in the law a precept that a man is to take in marriage the wife of his brother if he have died without children,[3] for the purpose of raising up seed to his brother; and this may happen repeatedly to the same person, according to that crafty question of the Sadducees;[4] men for that reason think that frequency of marriage is permitted in other cases as well: it will be their duty to understand first the reason of the precept itself; and thus they will come to know that that reason, now ceasing, is among those parts of the law which have been cancelled. Necessary it was that there should be a succession to the marriage of a brother if he died childless: first, because that ancient benediction, "Grow and multiply,"[5] had still to run its course; secondly, because the sins of the fathers used to be exacted even from the sons;[6] thirdly, because eunuchs and barren persons used to be regarded as ignominious. And thus, for fear that such as had died childless, not from natural inability, but from being prematurely overtaken by death, should be judged equally accursed [with the other class]; for this reason a vicarious and (so to say) posthumous offspring used to be supplied them. But [now], when the "extremity of the times" has cancelled [the command] "Grow and multiply," since the apostle superinduces [another command], "It remaineth, that both they who have wives so be as if they have not," because "the time is compressed;"[7] and "the sour grape"

[1] See Acts xv. 10. [2] See Matt. v. 20. [3] Deut. xxv. 5, 6.
[4] See Matt. xxii. 23–33; Mark xii. 18–27; Luke xx. 26–38. Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. [5] Gen. i. 28. Comp. *de Ex. Cast.* c. vi.
[6] See Ex. xx. 5; and therefore there must be sons begotten from whom to exact them. [7] Comp. *de Ex. Cast.* c. vi.

chewed by "the fathers" has ceased "to set the sons' teeth on edge,"[1] for, "each one shall die in his own sin;" and "eunuchs" not only have lost ignominy, but have even deserved grace, being invited into "the kingdoms of the heavens:"[2] the law of succeeding to the wife of a brother being buried, its contrary has obtained—that of *not* succeeding to the wife of a brother. And thus, as we have said before, what has ceased to be valid, on the cessation of its reason, cannot furnish a ground of argument to another. Therefore a wife, when her husband is dead, will not marry; for if she marry, she will of course be marrying [his] brother: for "all we are brethren."[3] Again, the woman, if intending to marry, has to marry "in the Lord;"[4] that is, not to an heathen, but to a brother, inasmuch as even the ancient law forbids[5] marriage with members of another tribe. Since, moreover, even in Leviticus there is a caution, "Whoever shall have taken [his] brother's wife, [it] is uncleanness—turpitude; without children shall [he] die;"[6] beyond doubt, while the man is prohibited from marrying a second time, the woman is prohibited too, having no one to marry except a brother. In what way, then, an agreement shall be established between the apostle and the Law (which he is not impugning in its entirety), shall be shown when we shall have come to his own epistle. Meantime, so far as pertains to the law, the lines of argument drawn from it are more suitable for us [than for our opponents]. In short, the same [law] prohibits priests from marrying a second time. The daughter also of a priest it bids, if widowed or repudiated, if she have had no seed, to return into her father's home and be nourished from his bread.[7] The reason why [it is said], "If she have had no seed," is not that if she have she may marry again—for how much

[1] See Jer. xxxi. 29, 30 (in LXX. xxxviii. 29, 30); Ezek. xviii. 1–4.

[2] Matt. xix. 12, often quoted. [3] Matt. xxiii. 8. [4] 1 Cor. vii. 39.

[5] "Adimit;" but the two MSS. extant of this treatise read "admittit" = admits.

[6] Lev. xx. 21, not exactly given.

[7] Lev. xxii. 13, where there is no *command* to her to return, in the Eng. ver.: in the LXX. there is.

more will she abstain from marrying if she have sons?—but that, if she have, she may be "nourished" by her son rather than by her father; in order that the son, too, may carry out the precept of God, "Honour father and mother."[1] Us, moreover, Jesus, the Father's Highest and Great Priest,[2] clothing us from His own store[3]—inasmuch as they "who are baptized in Christ[4] have put on Christ"—has made "priests to God His Father,"[5] according to John. For the reason why He recalls that young man who was hastening to his father's obsequies,[6] is that He may show that we are called priests by Him; [priests] whom the Law used to forbid to be present at the sepulture of parents:[7] "Over every dead soul," it says, "the priest shall not enter, and over his own father and over his own mother he shall not be contaminated." "Does it follow that we too are bound to observe *this* prohibition?" No, of course. For our one Father, God, *lives*, and our mother, the Church; and neither are we dead who live to God, nor do we bury our dead, inasmuch as they too are living in Christ. At all events, priests we are called by Christ; debtors to monogamy, in accordance with the pristine Law of God, which prophesied at that time of us in its own priests.

Chap. viii.—*From the law Tertullian comes to the gospel. He begins with examples before proceeding to dogmas.*

Turning now to the law, which is properly ours—that is, to the gospel—by what kind of examples are we met, until we come to definite dogmas? Behold, there immediately present themselves to us, on the threshold as it were, the two priestesses of Christian sanctity, Monogamy and Continence: one modest, in Zechariah the priest; one absolute, in John

[1] Ex. xx. 12 in brief.

[2] Summus sacerdos et magnus patris. But Oehler notices a conjecture of Jos. Scaliger, "agnus patris," when we must unite "the High Priest and Lamb of the Father."

[3] De suo. Comp. *de Bapt.* c. xvii. *ad fin.; de Cult. Fem.* l. i. c. v., l. ii. c. ix.; *de Ex. Cast.* c. iii. *med.;* and for the ref. see Rev. iii. 18.

[4] Gal. iii. 27; where it is εἰς Χριστόν, however.

[5] See Rev. i. 6.

[6] Matt. viii. 21, 22; Luke ix. 59, 60.

[7] Lev. xxi. 11.

the forerunner: one appeasing God; one preaching Christ: one proclaiming a perfect priest; one exhibiting "more than a prophet,"[1]—him, namely, who has not only preached or personally pointed out, but even baptized Christ. For who was more worthily to perform the initiatory rite on the body of the Lord, than flesh similar in kind to that which conceived and gave birth to that [body]? And indeed it was a virgin, about to marry once for all after her delivery, who gave birth to Christ, in order that each title of sanctity might be fulfilled in Christ's parentage, by means of a mother who was both virgin, and wife of one husband. Again, when He is presented as an infant in the temple, who is it who receives Him into his hands? who is the first to recognise Him in spirit? A man "just and circumspect," and of course no digamist, [which is plain] even [from this consideration], lest [otherwise] Christ should presently be more worthily preached by a woman, an aged widow, and "the wife of one man;" who, living devoted to the temple, was [already] giving in her own person a sufficient token what sort of persons ought to be the adherents to the spiritual temple,—that is, the church. Such eye-witnesses the Lord in infancy found; no different ones had He in adult age. Peter alone do I find—through [the mention of] his "mother-in-law"[2]—to have been married. Monogamist I am led to presume him by consideration of the church, which, built upon him,[3] was destined to appoint every grade of her Order from monogamists. The rest, while I do not find them married, I must of necessity understand to have been either eunuchs or continent. Nor indeed, if, among the Greeks, in accordance with the carelessness of custom, women and wives are classed under a common name—however, there is a name proper to *wives*—shall we therefore so interpret Paul as if he demonstrates the apostles to have had wives?[4] For if he were disputing about marriages, as he does in the sequel, where the apostle could better have named some particular example, it would appear right for him to say, "For have

[1] See Matt. xi. 9; Luke vii. 26.
[2] See Mark i. 29, 30.
[3] See Matt. xvi. 13–19. Comp. *de Pu.* c. xxi.
[4] See 1 Cor. ix. 1–5.

we not the power of leading about *wives*, like the other apostles and Cephas?" But when he subjoins those [expressions] which show his abstinence from [insisting on] the supply of maintenance, saying, "For have we not the power of eating and drinking?" he does not demonstrate that "wives" were led about by the apostles, whom even such as have not still have the power of eating and drinking; but simply "women," who used to minister to them in the same way [as they did] when accompanying the Lord.[1] But further, if Christ reproves the scribes and Pharisees, sitting in the official chair of Moses, but not doing what they taught,[2] what kind of [supposition] is it that He Himself withal should set upon His own official chair men who were mindful rather to enjoin—[but] not likewise to practise—sanctity of the flesh, which [sanctity] He had in all ways recommended to their teaching and practising?—first by His own example, then by all other arguments; while He tells [them] that "the kingdom of heavens" is "children's;"[3] while He associates with these [children] others who, after marriage, remained [or became] virgins;[4] while He calls [them] to [copy] the simplicity of the dove, a bird not merely innocuous, but modest too, and whereof one male knows one female; while He denies the Samaritan woman's [partner to be] a husband, that He may show that manifold husbandry is adultery;[5] while, in the revelation of His own glory, He prefers, from among so many saints and prophets, to have with him Moses and Elias[6]—the one a monogamist, the other a voluntary celibate (for Elias was nothing else than John, who came "in the power and spirit of Elias"[7]); while that "man gluttonous and toping," the "frequenter of luncheons and suppers, in the company of publicans and sinners,"[8] sups once for all at a single

[1] See Luke viii. 1–3; Matt. xxvii. 55, 56. [2] Matt. xxiii. 1–3.
[3] See Matt. xviii. 1–4, xix. 13–15; Mark x. 13–15.
[4] Alios post nuptias pueros. The reference seems to be to Matt. xix. 12.
[5] See John iv. 16–18.
[6] See Matt. xvii. 1–8; Mark ix. 2–9; Luke ix. 28–36.
[7] See Luke i. 17. [8] See Matt. xi. 19; Luke vii. 34.

marriage,[1] though, of course, many were marrying [around Him]; for He willed to *attend* [marriages] only so often as [He willed] them to *be*.

CHAP. IX.—*From examples Tertullian passes to direct dogmatic teachings. He begins with the Lord's teaching.*

But grant that these argumentations may be thought to be forced and founded on conjectures, if no dogmatic teachings have stood parallel with them which the Lord uttered in treating of divorce, which, permitted formerly, He now prohibits, first because "from the beginning it was not so," like plurality of marriage; secondly, because "what God hath conjoined, man shall not separate,"[2]—for fear, namely, that he contravene the Lord: for He alone shall "separate" who has "conjoined" (separate, moreover, not through the harshness of divorce, which [harshness] He censures and restrains, but through the debt of death) if, indeed, "one of two sparrows falleth not on the ground without the Father's will."[3] Therefore, if those whom God has conjoined man shall not separate by divorce, it is equally congruous that those whom God has separated by death man is not to conjoin by marriage; the joining of the separation will be just as contrary to God's will as would have been the separation of the conjunction.

So far as regards the non-*de*struction of the will of God, and the *re*struction of the law of "the beginning." But another reason, too, conspires; nay, not another, but [one] which imposed the law of "the beginning," and moved the will of God to prohibit divorce: the fact that [he] who shall have dismissed his wife, except on the ground of adultery, makes her commit adultery; and [he] who shall have married a [woman] dismissed by her husband, of course commits adultery.[4] A divorced woman cannot even marry legitimately; and if she commit any such act without the name

[1] See John ii. 1–11.

[2] See Matt. xix. 3–8, where, however, Tertullian's order is reversed. Comp. with this chapter, c. v. above.

[3] See Matt. x. 29. Comp. *de Ex. Cast.* c. i. *ad fin.* [4] See Matt. v. 32.

of marriage, does it not fall under the category of adultery, in that adultery is crime in the way of marriage? Such is God's verdict, within straiter limits than men's, that universally, whether through marriage or promiscuously, the admission of a second man [to intercourse] is pronounced adultery by Him. For let us see what marriage is in the eye of God; and thus we shall learn what adultery equally is. Marriage is [this]: when God joins "two into one flesh;" or else, finding [them already] joined in the same flesh, has given His seal to the conjunction. Adultery is [this]: when, the two having been—in whatsoever way—*dis*joined, other—nay, rather alien—flesh is mingled [with either]: flesh concerning which it cannot be affirmed, "This is flesh out of my flesh, and this bone out of my bones."[1] For this, once for all done and pronounced, as from the beginning, so now too, cannot apply to "other" flesh. Accordingly, it will be without cause that you will say that God wills not a divorced woman to be joined to another man "while her husband liveth," as if He do will it "when he is dead;"[2] whereas if she is not bound to him when dead, no more is she when living. "Alike when divorce dissevers marriage as when death does, she will not be bound to him by whom the binding medium has been broken off." To whom, then, will she be bound? In the eye of God, it matters nought whether she marry during her husband's life or after his death. For it is not against him that she sins, but against herself. "Any sin which a man may have committed is external to the body; but [he] who commits adultery sins against his own body." But—as we have previously laid down above—whoever shall intermingle with himself "other" flesh, over and above that pristine flesh which God either conjoined into two or else found [already] conjoined, commits adultery. And the reason why He has abolished divorce, which "was not from the beginning," is, that He may strengthen that which "was from the beginning"—the permanent conjunction, [namely], of "two into one flesh:" for fear that necessity or opportunity for a *third* union of flesh may make an

[1] Gen. ii. 23, in reversed order again. [2] Comp. Rom. vii. 1–3.

irruption [into His dominion]; permitting divorce to no cause but one—if, [that is], the [evil] against which precaution is taken chance to have occurred beforehand. So true, moreover, is it that divorce "was not from the beginning," that among the Romans it is not till after the six hundredth year from the building of the city that this kind of "hard-heartedness"[1] is set down as having been committed. But *they* indulge in promiscuous adulteries, even without divorcing [their partners]: to *us*, even if we do divorce them, even marriage will not be lawful.

Chap. x.—*St. Paul's teaching on the subject.*

From this point I see that we are challenged by an appeal to the apostle; for the more easy apprehension of whose meaning we must all the more earnestly inculcate [the assertion], that a woman is more bound when her husband is dead not to admit [to marriage] another husband. For let us reflect that divorce either is caused by discord, or else causes discord; whereas death is an event resulting from the law of God, not from an offence of man; and that it is a debt which all owe, even the unmarried. Therefore, if a divorced woman, who has been separated [from her husband] in soul as well as body, through discord, anger, hatred, and the causes of these—injury, or contumely, or whatsoever cause of complaint—is bound to a personal enemy, not to say a husband, how much more will one who, neither by her own nor her husband's fault, but by an event resulting from the Lord's law, has been—not separated from, but left behind by—her consort, be his, even when dead, to whom, even when dead, she owes [the debt of] concord? From him from whom she has heard no [word of] divorce she does not turn away; with him she is, to whom she has written no [document of] divorce; him whom she was unwilling to have lost, she retains. She has within her the licence of the mind, which represents to a man, in imaginary enjoyment, all things which he has not. In short, I ask the woman herself, "Tell me, sister, have you sent your husband before

[1] Comp. Matt. xix. 8; Mark x. 5.

you [to his rest] in peace?" What will she answer? [Will she say], "In discord?" In that case she is the more bound to him with whom she has a cause [to plead] at the bar of God. She who is bound [to another] has not departed [from him]. But [will she say], "In peace?" In that case, she must necessarily persevere in that [peace] with him whom she will no longer have the power to divorce; not that she would, even if she had been able to divorce him, have been marriageable. Indeed, she prays for his soul, and requests refreshment for him meanwhile, and fellowship [with him] in the first resurrection; and she offers [her sacrifice] on the anniversaries of his falling asleep. For, unless she does these deeds, she has in the true sense divorced him, so far as in her lies; and indeed the more iniquitously—inasmuch as [she did it] as far as *was* in her power—because she had *no* power [to do it]; and with the more indignity, inasmuch as it *is* with more indignity if [her reason for doing it is] because he did *not* deserve it. Or else shall we, pray, cease to be after death, according to [the teaching of] some Epicurus, and not according to [that of] Christ? But if we believe the resurrection of the dead, of course we shall be bound to them with whom we are destined to rise, to render an account the one of the other. "But if 'in that age they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be equal to angels,'[1] is not the fact that there will be no restitution of the conjugal relation a reason why we shall *not* be bound to our departed consorts?" Nay, but the more shall we *be* bound [to them], because we are destined to a better estate—destined [as we are] to rise to a spiritual consortship, to recognise as well our own selves as them who are ours. Else how shall we sing thanks to God to eternity, if there shall remain in us no sense and memory of this debt; if we shall be *re*-formed in substance, not in consciousness? Consequently, we who shall be with God shall be together; since we shall all be with the one God—albeit the wages be various,[2] albeit there be "many mansions" in the house of the same Father[3]—

[1] See Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25; Luke xx. 35, 36.
[2] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 8. [3] Comp. John xiv. 2.

having laboured for the "one penny"[1] of the selfsame hire, that is, of eternal life; in which [eternal life] God will still less separate them whom He has conjoined, than in this lesser life He forbids them to be separated.

Since this is so, how will a woman have room for another husband, who is, even to futurity, in the possession of her own? (Moreover, we speak to each sex, even if our discourse address itself but to the one; inasmuch as one discipline is incumbent [on both].) She will have one in spirit, one in flesh. This will be adultery, the conscious affection of one woman for two men. If the one has been disjoined from her flesh, but remains in her heart—in that place where even cogitation without carnal contact achieves beforehand both adultery by concupiscence, and matrimony by volition—he is to this hour her husband, possessing the very thing which is the mean whereby he became so—her mind, namely, in which withal, if another shall find a habitation, this will be a crime. Besides, excluded he is not, if he *has* withdrawn from viler carnal commerce. A more honourable husband is he, in proportion as he is become more pure.

Chap. xi.—*Further remarks upon St. Paul's teaching.*

Grant, now, that you marry "in the Lord," in accordance with the law and the apostle—if, notwithstanding, you care even about this—with what face do you request [the solemnizing of] a matrimony which is unlawful to those of whom you request it; of a monogamist bishop, of presbyters and deacons bound by the same solemn engagement, of widows whose Order you have in your own person refused? And they, plainly, will give husbands and wives as they would morsels of bread; for this is their rendering of "To every one who asketh thee thou shalt give!"[2] And they will join you together in a virgin church, the one betrothed of the one Christ! And you will pray for your *husbands*, the new and the old. Make your election, to which of the twain you will play the adulteress. I think, to both. But if you have any

[1] Matt. xx. 1–16.

[2] See Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30. Comp. *de Bapt.* c. xviii.

wisdom, be silent on behalf of the dead one. Let your silence be to him a divorce, already endorsed in the dotal gifts of another. In this way you will earn the new husband's favour, if you forget the old. You ought to take more pains to please him for whose sake you have not preferred to please God! Such [conduct] the Psychics will have it the apostle approved, or else totally failed to think about, when he wrote: "The woman is bound for such length of time as her husband liveth; but if he shall have died, she is free; whom she will let her marry, only in the Lord."[1] For it is out of this passage that they draw their defence of the licence of second marriage; nay, even of [marriages] to any amount, if of second [marriage]: for that which has ceased to be *once for all*, is open to *any and every number*. But the sense in which the apostle did write will be apparent, if first an agreement be come to that he did *not* write it in the sense of which the Psychics avail themselves. Such an agreement, moreover, will be come to if one first recall to mind those [passages] which are diverse from the passage in question, when tried by the standard of doctrine, of volition, and of Paul's own discipline. For, if he permits second nuptials, which were *not* "from the beginning," how does he affirm that all things are being re-collected *to* the beginning in Christ?[2] If he wills us to iterate conjugal connections, how does he maintain that "our seed is called" in the but once married Isaac as its author? How does he make monogamy the base of his disposition of the whole Ecclesiastical Order, if this rule does not antecedently hold good in the case of laics, from whose ranks the Ecclesiastical Order proceeds?[3] How does he call away from the enjoyment of marriage such as are still in the married position, saying that "the time is wound up," if he calls back again into marriage such as through death had escaped from marriage? If these [passages] are diverse from that one about which the present question is, it will be agreed (as we have said) that he did not write in that sense of which the Psychics avail

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 39, not rendered with very strict accuracy.

[2] See c. v. above.

[3] See *de Ex. Cast.* c. vii.

themselves; inasmuch as it is easier [of belief] that that one passage should have some explanation agreeable with the others, than that an apostle should seem to have taught [principles] mutually diverse. That explanation we shall be able to discover in the subject-matter itself. What was the subject-matter which led the apostle to write such [words]? The inexperience of a new and just rising church, which he was rearing, to wit, "with milk," not yet with the "solid food"[1] of stronger doctrine; inexperience so great, that that infancy of faith prevented them from yet knowing what they were to do in regard of carnal and sexual necessity. The very phases themselves of this [inexperience] are intelligible from [the apostle's] rescripts, when he says:[2] "But concerning these [things] which ye write: good it is for a man not to touch a woman; but, on account of fornications, let each one have his own wife." He shows that there were who, having been "apprehended by the faith" in [the state of] marriage, were apprehensive that it might not be lawful for them thenceforward to enjoy their marriage, because they had believed on the holy flesh of Christ. And yet it is "by way of allowance" that he makes the concession, "not by way of command;" that is, indulging, not enjoining, the practice. On the other hand, he "willed rather" that all should be what he himself was. Similarly, too, in sending a rescript on [the subject of] divorce, he demonstrates that some had been thinking over that also, chiefly because withal they did not suppose that they were to persevere, after faith, in heathen marriages. They sought counsel, further, "concerning virgins"—for "precept of the Lord" there was none—[and were told] that "it is good for a man if he so remain permanently;" ["so"], of course, as he may have been found by the faith. "Thou hast been bound to a wife, seek not loosing; thou hast been loosed from a wife, seek not a wife." "But if thou shalt have taken to [thyself] a wife, thou hast not sinned;" because to one who, before believing, had been "loosed from a wife," she will not be counted a *second* wife who, subsequently to believing, is the *first:* for

[1] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 2 with Heb. v. 11–14. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 1, 2.

it is from [the time of our] believing that our life itself dates its origin. But here he says that he "is sparing them;" else "pressure of the flesh" would shortly follow, in consequence of the straits of the times, which shunned the encumbrances of marriage: yea, rather solicitude must be felt about earning the Lord's favour than a husband's. And thus he recalls his permission. So, then, in the very same passage in which he definitively rules that "each one ought permanently to remain in that calling in which he shall be called;" adding, "A woman is bound so long as her husband liveth; but if he shall have fallen asleep, she is free: whom she shall wish let her marry, only in the Lord," he hence also demonstrates that such a woman is to be understood as has withal herself been "found" [by the faith] "loosed from a husband," similarly as the husband "loosed from a wife"—the "loosing" having taken place through death, of course, not through divorce; inasmuch as to the *divorced* he would grant no permission to marry, in the teeth of the primary precept. And so "a woman, if she shall have married, will not sin;" because he will not be reckoned a second husband who is, subsequently to her believing, the first, any more [than a wife thus taken will be counted a second wife]. And so truly is this the case, that he *therefore* adds, "only in the Lord;" because the question in agitation was about her who had had a *heathen* [husband], and had believed *subsequently to losing him:* for fear, to wit, that she might presume herself able to marry a heathen even *after* believing; albeit not even *this* is an object of care to the Psychics. Let us plainly know that, in the Greek original, it does not stand in the form which (through the either crafty or simple alteration of two syllables) has gone out into common use, "But if her husband *shall have* fallen asleep," as if it were speaking of the future, and thereby seemed to pertain to her who has lost her husband when already in a believing state. If this indeed had been so, licence let loose without limit would have granted a [fresh] husband as often as one had been lost, without any such modesty in marrying as is congruous even to heathens. But even if it had been so, as if referring

to future time, "If any [woman's] husband *shall have* died," even the future would just as much pertain to her whose husband shall die before she believed. Take it which way you will, provided you do not overturn the rest. For since these [other passages] agree to the sense [given above]: "Thou hast been called [as] a slave; care not:" "Thou hast been called in uncircumcision; be not circumcised:" "Thou hast been called in circumcision; become not uncircumcised:" with which concurs, "Thou hast been bound to a wife; seek not loosing: thou hast been loosed from a wife; seek not a wife,"—manifest enough it is that these passages pertain to such as, finding themselves in a new and recent "calling," were consulting [the apostle] on the subject of those [circumstantial conditions] in which they had been "apprehended" by the faith.

This will be the interpretation of that passage, to be examined as to whether it be congruous with the time and the occasion, and with the examples and arguments preceding as well as with the sentences and senses succeeding, and primarily with the individual advice and practice of the apostle himself: for nothing is so much to be guarded as [the care] that no one be found self-contradictory.

Chap. xii.—*The explanation of the above passage offered by the Psychics considered.*

Listen, withal, to the very subtle argumentation on the contrary side. "So true is it," say [our opponents], "that the apostle has permitted the iteration of marriage, that it is only such as are in the Clerical Order that he has stringently bound to the yoke of monogamy. For that which he prescribes to certain [individuals] he does not prescribe to all." Does it then follow, too, that to bishops alone he does *not* prescribe what he does enjoin upon all; if what he does prescribe to bishops he does *not* enjoin upon all? or is it *therefore* to all *because* to bishops? and *therefore* to bishops *because* to all? For whence is it that the bishops and clergy come? Is it not from *all?* If *all* are not bound to monogamy, whence are monogamists [to be taken] into the

clerical rank? Will some separate order of monogamists have to be instituted, from which to make selection for the clerical body? [No]; but when we are extolling and inflating ourselves in opposition to the clergy, then "we are all one:" then "we are all priests, because He hath made us priests to [His] God and Father." When we are challenged to a thorough equalization with the sacerdotal discipline, we lay down the [priestly] fillets, and [still] are on a par! The question in hand [when the apostle was writing], was with reference to Ecclesiastical Orders—what sort of men ought to be ordained. It was therefore fitting that all the form of the common discipline should be set forth on its fore-front, as an edict to be in a certain sense universally and carefully attended to, that the laity might the better know that they must themselves observe that order which was indispensable to their overseers; and that even the office of honour itself might not flatter itself in anything tending to licence, as if on the ground of privilege of position. The Holy Spirit foresaw that some would say, "All things are lawful to bishops;" just as that bishop of Utina of yours feared not even the Scantinian law. Why, how many digamists, too, preside in your churches; insulting the apostle, of course: at all events, not blushing when these passages are read under their presidency!

Come, now, you who think that an exceptional law of monogamy is made with reference to bishops, abandon withal your remaining disciplinary titles, which, together with monogamy, are ascribed to bishops.[1] Refuse to be "irreprehensible, sober, of good morals, orderly, hospitable, easy to be taught;" nay, indeed, [be] "given to wine, prompt with the hand to strike, combative, money-loving, not ruling your house, nor caring for your children's discipline,"—no, nor "courting good renown even from strangers." For if bishops have a law of their own teaching monogamy, the other [characteristics] likewise, which will be the fitting concomitants of monogamy, will have been written [exclusively] for bishops. With laics, however, to whom monogamy is not suitable, the other [characteristics] also have nothing to do.

[1] See 1 Tim. iii. 1–7; Tit. i. 7–9.

[Thus], Psychic, you have (if you please) evaded the bonds of discipline in its entirety! Be consistent in prescribing, that "what is enjoined upon certain [individuals] is not enjoined upon all;" or else, if the other [characteristics] indeed are common, but monogamy is imposed upon bishops alone, [tell me], pray, whether *they* alone are to be pronounced *Christians* upon whom is conferred the entirety of discipline?

CHAP. XIII.—*Further objections from St. Paul answered.*

"But again, writing to Timotheus, he 'wills the very young [women] to marry, bear children, act the housewife.'"[1] He is [here] directing [his speech] to such as he denotes above—"very young widows," who, after being "apprehended" in widowhood, and [subsequently] wooed for some length of time, after they have had Christ in their affections, "wish to marry, having judgment, because they have rescinded the first faith,"—that [faith], to wit, by which they were "found" in widowhood, and, after professing it, do not persevere. For which reason he "wills" them to "marry," for fear of their subsequently rescinding the first faith of professed widowhood; not to sanction their marrying as often as ever they may refuse to persevere in a widowhood plied with temptation—nay, rather, spent in indulgence.

"We read him withal writing to the Romans: 'But the woman who is under an husband, is bound to her husband [while] living; but if he shall have died, she has been emancipated from the law of the husband.' Doubtless, then, the husband living, she will be thought to commit adultery if she shall have been joined to a second husband. If, however, the husband shall have died, she has been freed from [his] law, [so] that she is not an adulteress if made [wife] to another husband."[2] But read the sequel as well, in order that this sense, which flatters you, may evade [your grasp]. "And so," he says, "my brethren, be ye too made dead to the law through the body of Christ, that ye may be made [subject] to a second,—to Him, namely, who hath risen from the dead, that we may bear fruit to God. For when we were

[1] 1 Tim. v. 14. [2] Rom. vii. 2, 3, not exactly rendered.

in the flesh, the passions of sin, which [passions] used to be efficiently caused through the law, [wrought] in our members unto the bearing of fruit to death; but now we have been emancipated from the law, being dead [to that] in which we used to be held,[1] unto the serving of God in newness of spirit, and not in oldness of letter." Therefore, if he bids us "be made dead to the law through the body of Christ," (which is the church,[2] which consists in the spirit of newness,) not "through the letter of oldness," (that is, of the law,)—taking you away from the law, which does not keep a wife, when her husband is dead, from becoming [wife] to another husband—he reduces you to [subjection to] the contrary condition, that you are *not* to marry when you have lost your husband; and in as far as you would *not* be accounted an adulteress if you became [wife] to a second husband after the death of your [first] husband, if you were still bound to act in [subjection to] the law, in so far as a result of the diversity of [your] condition, he *does* prejudge you [guilty] of adultery if, after the death of your husband, you do marry another: inasmuch as you have now been made dead to the law, it cannot be lawful for you, now that you have withdrawn from that [law] in the eye of which it *was* lawful for you.

CHAP. XIV.—*Even if the permission had been given by St. Paul in the sense which the Psychics allege, it was merely like the Mosaic permission of divorce—a condescension to human hard-heartedness.*

Now, if the apostle had even absolutely permitted marriage when one's partner has been lost *subsequently to* [conversion to] the faith, he would have done [it], just as [he did] the other [actions] which he did adversely to the [strict] letter of his own rule, to suit the circumstances of the times: circumcising Timotheus[3] on account of "supposititious false brethren;" and leading certain "shaven men" into the temple[4] on account of the observant watchfulness of the

[1] Comp. the marginal reading in the Eng. ver., Rom. vii. 6.
[2] Comp. Eph. i. 23, and the references there.
[3] Acts xvi. 3; see Gal. iii. 4.
[4] Comp. Acts xxi. 20–26.

Jews—he who chastises the Galatians when they desire to live in [observance of] the law.[1] But so did circumstances require him to "become all things to all, in order to gain all;"[2] "travailing in birth with them until Christ should be formed in them;"[3] and "cherishing, as it were a nurse," the little ones of faith, by teaching them some things "by way of indulgence, not by way of command"—for it is one thing to *indulge*, another to *bid*—permitting a temporary licence of re-marriage on account of the "weakness of the flesh," just as Moses of divorcing on account of "the hardness of the heart."

And here, accordingly, we will render the supplement of this [his] meaning. For if Christ abrogated what Moses enjoined, because "from the beginning [it] was not so;" and [if]—this being so—Christ will not therefore be reputed to have come from some other Power; why may not the Paraclete, too, have abrogated an indulgence which Paul granted—because second marriage withal "was not from the beginning"—without deserving on this account to be regarded with suspicion, as if he were an alien spirit, provided only that the superinduction be worthy of God and of Christ? If it was worthy of God and of Christ to check "hard-heartedness" when the time [for its indulgence] was fully expired, why should it not be *more* worthy both of God and of Christ to shake off "infirmity of the flesh" when "the time" is already *more* "wound up?" If it is just that marriage be not severed, it is, of course, honourable too that it be not iterated. In short, in the estimation of the world, each is accounted a mark of good discipline: one under the name of concord; one, of modesty. "Hardness of heart" reigned till Christ's time; let "infirmity of the flesh" [be content to] have reigned till the time of the Paraclete. The New Law abrogated divorce—it had [somewhat] to abrogate; the New Prophecy [abrogates] second marriage, [which is] no less a divorce of the former [marriage]. But the "hardness of heart" yielded to Christ more readily than the "infirmity of the flesh." The latter claims Paul in its own support more than the former Moses; if, indeed, it is claiming him in its

[1] See Gal. iii. iv. [2] See 1 Cor. ix. 22. [3] Gal. iv. 19.

support when it catches at his indulgence, [but] refuses his prescript — eluding his more deliberate opinions and his constant "wills," not suffering us to render to the apostle the [obedience] which he "prefers."

And how long will this most shameless "infirmity" persevere in waging a war of extermination against the "better things?" The time for its indulgence was [the interval] until the Paraclete began His operations, to whose coming were deferred by the Lord [the things] which in His day "could not be endured;" which it is now no longer competent for any one to be unable to endure, seeing that He through whom the power of enduring is granted is not wanting. How long shall we allege "the flesh," because the Lord said, "the flesh is weak?"[1] But He has withal premised that "the Spirit is prompt," in order that the Spirit may vanquish the flesh—that the weak may yield to the stronger. For again He says, "Let him who is able to receive, receive [it];"[2] that is, let him who is *not* able go his way. That rich man *did* go his way who had not "received" the precept of dividing his substance to the needy, and was abandoned by the Lord to his own opinion.[3] Nor will "harshness" be on this account imputed to Christ, on the ground of the vicious action of each individual free-will. "Behold," saith He, "I have set before thee good and evil."[4] Choose that which is good: if you cannot, because you will not—for that you can if you will He has shown, because He has proposed each to your free-will—you ought to depart from Him whose will you do not.

CHAP. XV.—*Unfairness of charging the disciples of the New Prophecy with harshness. The charge rather to be retorted upon the Psychics.*

What harshness, therefore, is here on our part, if we renounce [communion with] such as do not the will of God? What heresy, if we judge second marriage, as being unlaw-

[1] Matt. xxvi. 41. [2] Matt. xix. 12.
[3] See Matt. xix. 16–26; Mark x. 17–27; Luke xviii. 18–27.
[4] See Deut. xxx. 1, 15, 19, and xi. 26. See, too, *de Ex. Cast.* c. ii.

ful, akin to adultery? For what is adultery but unlawful marriage? The apostle sets a brand upon those who were wont entirely to forbid marriage, who were wont at the same time to lay an interdict on meats which God has created.[1] We, however, no more do away with marriage if we abjure its repetition, than we reprobate meats if we fast oftener [than others]. It is one thing to do away with, another to regulate; it is one thing to lay down a law of not marrying, it is another to fix a limit to marrying. To speak plainly, if they who reproach us with harshness, or esteem heresy [to exist] in this [our] cause, foster the "infirmity of the flesh" to such a degree as to think it must have support accorded to it in frequency of marriage; why do they in another case neither accord it support nor foster it with indulgence—when, [namely], torments have reduced it to a denial [of the faith]? For, of course, that [infirmity] is more capable of excuse which has fallen in battle, than [that] which [has fallen] in the bed-chamber; [that] which has succumbed on the rack, than [that] which [has succumbed] on the bridal bed; [that] which has yielded to cruelty, than [that] which [has yielded] to appetite; that which has been overcome groaning, than [that] which [has been overcome] in heat. But the former they excommunicate, because it has not "endured unto the end:"[2] the latter they prop up, as if withal it has "endured unto the end." Propose [the question] why each has not "endured unto the end;" and you will find the cause of that [infirmity] to be more honourable which has been unable to sustain savagery, than [of that] which [has been unable to sustain] modesty. And yet not even a bloodwrung—not to say an immodest—defection does the "infirmity of the flesh" excuse!

Chap. xvi.—*Weakness of the pleas urged in defence of second marriage.*

But I smile when [the plea of] "infirmity of the flesh" is advanced in opposition [to us: infirmity] which is [rather] to be called the height of strength. Iteration of marriage is

[1] See 1 Tim. iv. 1–3.

[2] See Matt. xxiv. 14, and the references there.

an affair of strength: to rise again from the ease of continence to the works of the flesh, is [a thing requiring] substantial reins. Such "infirmity" is equal to a third, and a fourth, and even (perhaps) a seventh marriage; as [being a thing] which increases its strength as often as its weakness; which will no longer have [the support of] an apostle's authority, but of some Hermogenes—wont to marry more women than he paints. For in him matter is abundant: whence he presumes that even the soul is material; and therefore much more [than other men] he has *not* the Spirit from God, being no longer even a Psychic, because even his psychic element is not derived from God's afflatus! What if a man allege "indigence," so as to profess that his flesh is openly prostituted, and given in marriage for the sake of maintenance; forgetting that there is to be no careful thought about food and clothing?[1] He has God [to look to], the Foster-father even of ravens, the Rearer even of flowers. What if he plead the loneliness of his home? as if one woman afforded company to a man ever on the eve of flight! He has, of course, a widow [at hand], whom it will be lawful for him to take. Not one such wife, but even a plurality, it is permitted to have. What if a man thinks on posterity, with thoughts like the eyes of Lot's wife; so that a man is to make the fact that from his former marriage he has had no children a reason for repeating marriage? A Christian, forsooth, will seek heirs, disinherited as he is from the entire world! He has "brethren;" he has the church as his mother. The case is different if men believe that, at the bar of Christ as well [as of Rome], action is taken on the principle of the Julian laws; and imagine that the unmarried and childless cannot receive their portion in full, in accordance with the testament of God. Let such [as thus think], then, marry to the very end; that in this confusion of flesh they, like Sodom and Gomorrha, and the day of the deluge, may be overtaken by the fated final end of the world. A third saying let them add, "Let us eat, and drink, *and marry*, for to-morrow we shall die;"[2] not reflect-

[1] See Matt. vi. 25–34. [2] See 1 Cor. xv. 32.

ing that the "woe" [denounced] "on such as are with child, and are giving suck,"[1] will fall far more heavily and bitterly in the "universal shaking"[2] of the entire world[3] than it did in the devastation of one fraction of Judæa. Let them accumulate by their iterated marriages fruits right seasonable for the last times—breasts heaving, and wombs qualmish, and infants whimpering. Let them prepare for Antichrist [children] upon whom he may more passionately [than Pharaoh] spend his savagery. He will lead to them murderous midwives.[4]

Chap. xvii.—*Heathen examples cry shame upon this "infirmity of the flesh."*[5]

They will have plainly a specious privilege to plead before Christ—the everlasting "infirmity of the flesh!" But upon this [infirmity] will sit in judgment no longer an Isaac, our monogamist father; or a John, a noted voluntary celibate[6] of Christ's; or a Judith, daughter of Merari; or so many other examples of saints. Heathens are wont to be destined our judges. There will arise a queen of Carthage, and give sentence upon the Christians, who, refugee as she was, living on alien soil, and at that very time the originator of so mighty a state, whereas she ought unasked to have craved royal nuptials, yet, for fear she should experience a second marriage, preferred on the contrary rather to "burn" than to "marry." Her assessor will be the Roman matron who, having — albeit it was through nocturnal violence, nevertheless—known another man, washed away with blood the stain of her flesh, that she might avenge upon her own person [the honour of] monogamy. There have been, too, who preferred to die for their husbands rather than marry after their husbands' death. To idols, at all events, both monogamy and widowhood serve as apparitors. On Fortuna Muliebris, as on Mother Matuta, none but a once wedded

[1] Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxi. 23. Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. v.
[2] Concussione. Comp. Hag. ii. 6, 7; Heb. xii. 26, 27.
[3] Mundi. [4] Comp. Ex. i. 8–16. [5] Spado.
[6] Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. cc. vi. vii.; and *de Ex. Cast.* c. xiii.

woman hangs the wreath. Once for all do the Pontifex Maximus and the wife of a Flamen marry. The priestesses of Ceres, even during the lifetime and with the consent of their husbands, are widowed by amicable separation. There are, too, who may judge us on the ground of absolute continence: the virgins of Vesta, and of the Achaian Juno, and of the Scythian Diana, and of the Pythian Apollo. On the ground of continence the priests likewise of the famous Egyptian bull will judge the "infirmity" of Christians. Blush, O flesh, who hast "put on"[1] Christ! Suffice it thee once for all to marry, whereto "from the beginning" thou wast created, whereto by "the end" thou art being recalled! Return at least to the former Adam, if to the last thou canst not! Once for all did he taste of the tree; once for all felt concupiscence; once for all veiled his shame; once for all blushed in the presence of God; once for all concealed his guilty hue; once for all was exiled from the paradise of holiness;[2] once for all thenceforward married. If you were "in him,"[3] you have your norm; if you have passed over "into Christ,"[4] you will be bound to be [yet] better. Exhibit [to us] a third Adam, and him a digamist; and then you will be able to be what, between the two, you cannot.

[1] See Rom. xiii. 11; Gal. iii. 27.
[2] Or "chastity."
[3] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 22, ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ.
[4] See Rom. vi. 3.

OF MODESTY.

MODESTY, the flower of manners, the honour of our bodies, the grace of the sexes, the integrity of the blood, the guarantee of our race, the basis of sanctity, the pre-indication of every good disposition; rare though it is, and not easily perfected, and scarce ever retained in perpetuity, will yet up to a certain point linger in the world, if nature shall have laid the preliminary groundwork of it, discipline persuaded to it, censorial rigour curbed its excesses—on the hypothesis, that is, that every mental good quality is the result either of birth, or else of training, or else of external compulsion.

But as the conquering power of things evil is on the increase—which is the characteristic of the last times[1]—things good are now not allowed either to be born, so corrupted are the seminal principles; or to be trained, so deserted are studies; nor to be enforced, so disarmed are the laws. In fact, [the modesty] of which we are now beginning [to treat] is by this time grown so obsolete, that it is not the abjuration but the moderation of the appetites which modesty is believed to be; and he is held to be chaste *enough* who has not been *too* chaste. But let the world's[2] modesty see to itself, together with the world[3] itself: together with its inherent nature, if it was wont to originate in birth; its study, if in training; its servitude, if in compulsion: except that it had been even more unhappy if it had remained only to prove fruitless, in that it had not been in God's household that its activities had been exercised. I should prefer no good to a vain good: what profits it that that

[1] Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 1–5; Matt. xxiv. 12. [2] Sæculi. [3] Sæculo.

should exist whose existence profits not? It is *our own* good things whose position is now sinking; it is the system of *Christian* modesty which is being shaken to its foundation—[Christian modesty], which derives its all from heaven; its nature, "through the laver of regeneration;"[1] its discipline, through the instrumentality of preaching; its censorial rigour, through the judgments which each Testament exhibits; and is subject to a more constant external compulsion, arising from the apprehension or the desire of the eternal fire or kingdom.[2]

In opposition to this [modesty], could I not have acted the dissembler? I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one too. The sovereign Pontiff[3]—that is, the bishop of bishops[4]—issues an edict: "I remit, to such as have discharged [the requirements of] repentance, the sins both of adultery and of fornication." O edict, on which cannot be inscribed, "Good deed!" And where shall this liberality be posted up? On the very spot, I suppose, on the very gates of the sensual appetites, beneath the very titles of the sensual appetites. There is the place for promulgating such repentance, where the delinquency itself shall haunt. There is the place to read the pardon, where entrance shall be made under the hope thereof. But it is in THE CHURCH that this [edict] is read, and in the church that it is pronounced; and [THE CHURCH] is a virgin! Far, far from Christ's betrothed be such a proclamation! She, the true, the modest, the saintly, shall be free from stain even of her ears. She has none to whom to make such a promise; and if she have had, she does not make it; since even the earthly temple of God can sooner have been called by the Lord a "den of robbers,"[5] than of adulterers and fornicators.

This too, therefore, shall be a count in my indictment against the Psychics; against the fellowship of sentiment also which I myself formerly maintained with them; in order that they may the more cast this in my teeth for a mark of fickleness.

[1] Tit. iii. 5. [2] Comp. Matt. xxv. 46. [3] Pontifex Maximus.

[4] Pope Zephyrinus (de Genoude): Zephryinus or (his predecessor) Victor. J. B. Lightfoot, *Ep. ad Phil.* 221, 222, ed. 1, 1868.

[5] Matt. xxi. 13; Mark xi. 17; Luke xix. 46; Jer. vii. 11.

Repudiation of fellowship is never a pre-indication of sin. As if it were not easier to err with the majority, when it is in the company of the few that truth is loved! But, however, a profitable fickleness shall no more be a disgrace to me, than I should wish a hurtful one to be an ornament. I blush not at an error which I have ceased to hold, because I am delighted at having ceased to hold it, because I recognise myself to be better and more modest. No one blushes at his own improvement. Even in Christ, knowledge had its stages of growth;[1] through which stages the apostle, too, passed. "When I was a child," he says, "as a child I spake, as a child I understood; but when I became a man, those [things] which had been the child's I abandoned:"[2] so truly did he turn away from his early opinions: nor did he sin by becoming an emulator not of ancestral but of Christian traditions,[3] wishing even the præ-cision of them who advised the retention of circumcision.[4] And would that the same fate might befall those, too, who obtruncate the pure and true integrity of the flesh; amputating not the extremest superficies, but the inmost image of modesty itself, while they promise pardon to adulterers and fornicators, in the teeth of the primary discipline of the Christian Name; a discipline to which heathendom itself bears such emphatic witness, that it strives to punish that discipline in the persons of our females rather by defilements of the flesh than tortures; wishing to wrest from them that which they hold dearer than life! But now this glory is being extinguished, and that by means of those who ought with all the more constancy to refuse concession of any pardon to defilements of this kind, that they make the fear of succumbing to adultery and fornication their reason for marrying as often as they please—since "better it is to marry than to burn."[5] No doubt it is for continence sake that incontinence is necessary — the "burning" will be extinguished by "fires!" Why, then, do they withal grant indulgence, under the name of repent-

[1] See Luke ii. 52.
[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 11, one clause omitted.
[3] Comp. Gal. i. 14 with 2 Thess. ii. 15.
[4] See Gal. v. 12.
[5] 1 Cor. vii. 9, repeatedly quoted.

ance, to crimes for which they furnish remedies by their law of multinuptialism? For remedies will be idle while crimes are indulged, and crimes will remain if remedies are idle. And so, either way, they trifle with solicitude and negligence; by taking emptiest precaution against [crimes] to which they grant quarter, and granting absurdest quarter to [crimes] against which they take precaution: whereas either precaution is not to be taken where quarter is given, or quarter not given where precaution is taken; for they take precaution, as if they were unwilling that something should be committed; but grant indulgence, as if they were willing it should be committed: whereas, if they be unwilling it should be committed, they ought not to grant indulgence; if they be willing to grant indulgence, they ought not to take precaution. For, again, adultery and fornication will not be ranked at the same time among the moderate and among the greatest sins, so that each course may be equally open with regard to them—the solicitude which takes precaution, and the security which grants indulgence. But since they are such as to hold the culminating place among crimes, there is no room at once for their indulgence as if they were moderate, and for their precaution as if they were greatest. But by *us* precaution is thus also taken against the greatest, or, [if you will], *highest* [crimes, viz.] in that it is not permitted, after believing, to know even a second marriage, differentiated though it be, to be sure, from the work of adultery and fornication by the nuptial and dotal tablets: and accordingly, with the utmost strictness, we excommunicate digamists, as bringing infamy upon the Paraclete by the irregularity of their discipline. The selfsame liminal limit we fix for adulterers also and fornicators; dooming them to pour forth tears barren of peace, and to regain from the church no ampler return than the publication of their disgrace.

CHAP. II.—*God just as well as merciful; accordingly, mercy must not be indiscriminate.*

"But," say they, "God is 'good,' and 'most good,'[1] and

[1] See Matt. xix. 17; Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19.

'pitiful-hearted,' and 'a pitier,' and 'abundant in pitiful-heartedness,'[1] which He holds 'dearer than all sacrifice,'[2] 'not thinking the sinner's death of so much worth as his repentance,'[3] 'a Saviour of all men, most of all of believers.'[4] And so it will be becoming for 'the sons of God'[5] too to be 'pitiful-hearted'[6] and 'peacemakers;'[7] 'giving in their turn just as Christ withal hath given to us;'[8] 'not judging, that we be not judged.'[9] For 'to his own lord a man standeth or falleth; who art thou, to judge another's servant?'[10] 'Remit, and remission shall be made to thee.'"[11] Such and so great futilities of theirs wherewith they flatter God and pander to themselves, effeminating rather than invigorating discipline, with how cogent and contrary [arguments] are we for our part able to rebut,—[arguments] which set before us warningly the "severity"[12] of God, and provoke our own constancy? Because, albeit God is by nature good, still He is "just"[13] too. For, from the nature of the case, just as He knows how to "heal," so does He withal know how to "smite;"[14] "making peace," but withal "creating evils;"[15] preferring repentance, but withal commanding Jeremiah not to pray for the aversion of ills on behalf of the sinful People, —"since, if they shall have fasted," saith He, "I will not listen to their entreaty."[16] And again: "And pray not thou unto [me] on behalf of the People, and request not on their behalf in prayer and supplication, since I will not listen to [them] in the time wherein they shall have invoked me, in the time of their affliction."[17] And further, above, the same

[1] See Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7.
[2] Hos. vi. 6; Mic. vi. 8; Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7.
[3] Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11.
[4] 1 Tim. iv. 10.
[5] 1 John iii. 1, 2.
[6] Luke vi. 36.
[7] Matt. v. 9.
[8] Comp. Matt. x. 8; but the reference seems to be to Eph. iv. 32, where the Vulgate reads almost as Tertullian does, "donantes invicem, sicut et Deus in Christo donavit vobis."
[9] Matt. vii. 1; Luke vi. 37.
[10] Comp. Rom. xiv. 4.
[11] Comp. Luke vi. 37.
[12] See Rom. xi. 22.
[13] Comp. Isa. xlv. 21; Rom. iii. 26.
[14] Comp. Job v. 18; Deut. xxxii. 39.
[15] Isa. xlv. 7.
[16] Jer. xiv. 11, 12, vii. 16, xi. 14.
[17] Jer. xi. 14.

preferrer of mercy above sacrifice [says]: "And pray not thou unto [me] on behalf of this People, and request not that they may obtain mercy, and approach not on their behalf unto me, since I will not listen to [them]"[1]—of course when they sue for mercy, when out of repentance they weep and fast, and when they offer their self-affliction to God. For God is "jealous,"[2] and is One who is not contemptuously derided[3]—derided, namely, by such as flatter His goodness—and who, albeit "patient,"[4] yet threatens, through Isaiah, an end of [His] patience. "I have held my peace; shall I withal always hold my peace and endure? I have been quiet as [a woman] in birth-throes; I will arise, and will make [them] to grow arid."[5] For "a fire shall proceed before His face, and shall utterly burn His enemies;"[6] striking down not the body only, but the souls too, into hell.[7] Besides, the Lord Himself demonstrates the manner in which He threatens such as judge: "For with what judgment ye judge, judgment shall be given on you."[8] Thus He has not prohibited judging, but taught [how to do it]. Whence the apostle withal judges, and that in a case of fornication,[9] that "such a man must be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh;"[10] chiding them likewise because "brethren" were not "judged at the bar of the saints:"[11] for he goes on and says, "To what [purpose is it] for me to judge those who are without?" "But you remit, in order that remission may be granted you by God." The sins which are [thus] cleansed are such as a man may have committed against his brother, not against God. We profess, in short, in our prayer, that we will grant remission to our debtors;[12] but it is not becoming to distend further, on

[1] Jer. vii. 16.
[2] Comp. Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 24, v. 9, vi. 15; Josh. xxiv. 19; Nahum i. 2.
[3] Gal. vi. 7.
[4] Comp. Rom. xv. 5; Ps. vii. 12 (in LXX.).
[5] Isa. xlii. 14.
[6] Comp. Ps. xcvii. 3.
[7] Comp. Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 4, 5.
[8] Matt. vii. 2; Luke vi. 37.
[9] Or rather incest, as appears by 1 Cor. v. 1.
[10] 1 Cor. v. 5.
[11] See 1 Cor. vi. 1–6, v. 12.
[12] Luke xi. 4.

the ground of the authority of such scriptures, the cable of contention with alternate pull into diverse directions; so that one [Scripture] may seem to draw tight, another to relax, the reins of discipline—in uncertainty, as it were,—and the latter to debase the remedial aid of repentance through lenity, the former to refuse it through austerity. Further: the authority of Scripture will stand within its own limits, without reciprocal opposition. The remedial aid of repentance is determined by its own conditions, without unlimited concession; and the causes of it themselves are anteriorly distinguished without confusion in the proposition. We agree that the causes of repentance are sins. These we divide into two issues: some will be remissible, some irremissible: in accordance wherewith it will be doubtful to no one that some deserve chastisement, some condemnation. Every sin is dischargeable either by pardon or else by penalty: by pardon as the result of chastisement, by penalty as the result of condemnation. Touching this difference, we have not only already premised certain antithetical passages of the Scriptures, on one hand retaining, on the other remitting, sins;[1] but John, too, will teach us: "If any knoweth his brother to be sinning a sin not unto death, he shall request, and life shall be given to him;" because he is not "sinning unto death," this will be remissible. "[There] is a sin unto death; not for this do I say that any is to request"[2]—this will be irremissible. So, where there is the efficacious power of "making request," there likewise is that of remission: where there is no [efficacious power] of "making request," there equally is none of remission either. According to this difference of sins, the condition of repentance also is discriminated. There will be a condition which may possibly obtain pardon,—in the case, namely, of a remissible sin: there will be a condition which can by no means obtain it,—in the case, namely, of an irremissible sin. And it remains to examine specially, with regard to the position of adultery and fornication, to which class of sins they ought to be assigned.

[1] Comp. John xx. 23. [2] 1 John v. 16, not quite *verbatim.*

CHAP. III.—*An objection anticipated before the discussion above promised is commenced.*

But before doing this, I will make short work with an answer which meets us from the opposite side, in reference to that species of repentance which we are just defining as being without pardon. "Why, if," say they, "there is a repentance which lacks pardon, it immediately follows that such repentance must withal be wholly unpractised by you. For nothing is to be done in vain. Now repentance will be practised in vain, if it is without pardon. But *all* repentance *is* to be practised. Therefore let [us allow that] *all* obtains pardon, that it may not be practised in vain; because it will not be to be practised, if it be practised in vain. Now, in vain it *is* practised, if it shall lack pardon." Justly, then, do they allege [this argument] against us; since they have usurpingly kept in their own power the fruit of this as of other repentance—that is, pardon; for, so far as *they* are concerned, at whose hands [repentance] obtains *man's* peace, [it *is* in vain]. As regards *us*, however, who remember that the Lord alone concedes [the pardon of] sins, (and of course of *mortal* ones,) it will *not* be practised in vain. For [the repentance] being referred back to the Lord, and thenceforward lying prostrate before Him, will by this very fact the rather avail to win pardon, that it gains it by entreaty *from God alone*, that it believes not that *man's* peace is adequate to its guilt, that as far as regards the church it prefers the blush of shame to the privilege of communion. For before her doors it stands, and by the example of its own stigma admonishes all others, and calls at the same time to its own aid the brethren's tears, and returns with an even richer merchandise—their compassion, namely—than their communion. And if it reaps not the harvest of peace here, yet it sows the seed of it with the Lord; nor does it lose, but prepares, its fruit. It will not fail of emolument if it do not fail in duty. Thus, neither is such repentance vain, nor such discipline harsh. Both honour God. The former, by laying no flattering unction to itself, will more readily

win success; the latter, by assuming nothing to itself, will more fully aid.

Chap. iv.—*Adultery and fornication synonymous.*

Having defined the distinction [between the kinds] of repentance, we are by this time, then, able to return to the assessment of the sins—whether they be such as can obtain pardon at the hand of men. In the first place, [as for the fact] that we call adultery likewise fornication, usage requires [us so to do]. "Faith," withal, has a familiar acquaintance with sundry appellations. So, in every one of our little works, we carefully guard usage. Besides, if I shall say "adulterium," and if "stuprum," the indictment of contamination of the flesh will be one and the same. For it makes no difference whether a man assault another's bride or widow, provided it be not his own "female;" just as there is no difference made by places—whether it be in chambers or in towers that modesty is massacred. Every homicide, even outside a wood, is banditry. So, too, whoever enjoys any other than nuptial intercourse, in whatever place, and in the person of whatever woman, makes himself guilty of adultery and fornication. Accordingly, among *us*, secret connections as well—connections, that is, not first professed in presence of the church—run risk of being judged akin to adultery and fornication; nor must we let them, if thereafter woven together by the covering of marriage, elude the charge. But all the other frenzies of passions—impious both toward the bodies and toward the sexes—beyond the laws of nature, we banish not only from the threshold, but from all shelter of the church, because they are not sins, but monstrosities.

Chap. v.—*Of the prohibition of adultery in the Decalogue.*

Of how deep guilt, then, adultery—which is likewise a matter of fornication, in accordance with its criminal function—is to be accounted, the Law of God first comes to hand to show us; if it is true, [as it is], that after interdicting the superstitious service of alien gods, and the making of idols themselves, after commending [to religious observance] the

veneration of the Sabbath, after commanding a religious regard toward parents second [only to that] toward God, [that Law] laid, as the next substratum in strengthening and fortifying such counts, no other precept than "Thou shalt not commit adultery." For after spiritual chastity and sanctity followed corporeal integrity. And this [the Law] accordingly fortified, by immediately prohibiting its foe, adultery. Understand, consequently, what kind of sin [that must be], the repression of which [the Law] ordained next to [that of] idolatry. Nothing that is a second is remote from the first; nothing is so close to the first as the second. That which results from the first is (in a sense) another first. And so adultery is bordering on idolatry. For idolatry withal, often cast as a reproach upon the People under the name of adultery and fornication, will be alike conjoined therewith in fate as in following—will be alike co-heir therewith in condemnation as in co-ordination. Yet further: premising "Thou shalt not commit adultery," [the Law] adjoins, "Thou shalt not kill." It honoured adultery, of course, to which it gives the precedence over murder, in the very fore-front of the most holy law, among the primary counts of the celestial edict, marking it with the inscription of the very principal sins. From its place you may discern the measure, from its rank the station, from its neighbourhood the merit, of each thing. Even evil has a dignity, consisting in being stationed at the summit, or else in the centre, of the superlatively bad. I behold a certain pomp and circumstance of adultery: on the one side, Idolatry goes before and leads the way; on the other, Murder follows in company. Worthily, without doubt, has she taken her seat between the two most conspicuous eminences of misdeeds, and has completely filled the vacant space, as it were, in their midst, with an equal majesty of crime. Enclosed by such flanks, encircled and supported by such ribs, who shall dislocate her from the corporate mass of coherencies, from the bond of neighbour crimes, from the embrace of kindred wickednesses, so as to set apart her alone for the enjoyment of repentance? Will not on one side Idolatry, on the other Murder, detain

her, and (if they have any voice) reclaim: "This is our wedge, this our compacting power? By [the standard of] Idolatry we are measured; by her disjunctive intervention we are conjoined; to her, outjutting from our midst, we are united; the Divine Scripture has made us concorporate; the very letters are our glue; herself can no longer exist without us. 'Many and many a time do I, Idolatry, subminister occasion to Adultery; witness my groves and my mounts, and the living waters, and the very temples in cities, what mighty agents we are for overthrowing modesty.' 'I also, Murder, sometimes exert myself on behalf of Adultery. To omit tragedies, witness nowadays the poisoners, witness the magicians, how many seductions I avenge, how many rivalries I revenge; how many guards, how many informers, how many accomplices, I make away with. Witness the midwives likewise, how many adulterous conceptions are slaughtered.' Even among Christians there is no adultery without us. Wherever the business of the unclean spirit is, there are idolatries; wherever a man, by being polluted, is slain, there too is murder. Therefore the remedial aids of repentance will not be suitable to *them*, or else they will likewise be to *us*. We either detain Adultery, or else follow her." These words the sins themselves do speak. If the *sins* are deficient in speech, hard by [the door of the church] stands an idolater, hard by stands a murderer; in their midst stands, too, an adulterer. Alike, as the duty of repentance bids, they sit in sackcloth and bristle in ashes; with the selfsame weeping they groan; with the selfsame prayers they make their circuits; with the selfsame knees they supplicate; the selfsame mother they invoke. What doest thou, gentlest and humanest Discipline? Either to *all* these will it be thy duty so to be, for "blessed are the peacemakers;"[1] or else, if not to *all*, it will be thy duty to range thyself on our side. Dost thou once for all condemn the idolater and the murderer, but take the adulterer out from their midst?—[the adulterer], the successor of the idolater, the predecessor of the murderer, the colleague of each? It is "an accepting of

[1] Matt. v. 9.

person:"[1] the more pitiable repentances thou hast left [unpitied] behind!

CHAP. VI.—*Examples of such offences under the Old Dispensation no pattern for the disciples of the New. But even the Old has examples of vengeance upon such offences.*

Plainly, if you show by what patronages of heavenly precedents and precepts it is that you open to adultery alone —and therein to fornication also—the gate of repentance, at this very line our hostile encounter will forthwith cross swords. Yet I must necessarily prescribe you a law, not to stretch out your hand after the old things,[2] not to look backwards:[3] for "the old things are passed away,"[4] according to Isaiah; and "a renewing hath been renewed,"[5] according to Jeremiah; and "forgetful of former things, we are reaching forward,"[6] according to the apostle; and "the law and the prophets [were] until John,"[7] according to the Lord. For even if we are just now beginning with the Law in demonstrating [the nature of] adultery, it is justly with that phase of the law which Christ has "not dissolved, but fulfilled."[8] For it is the "burdens" of the law which were "until John," not the remedial virtues. It is the "yokes" of "works" that have been rejected, not those of disciplines.[9] "Liberty in Christ"[10] has done no injury to innocence. The law of piety, sanctity, humanity, truth, chastity, justice, mercy, benevolence, modesty, remains in its entirety; in which law "blessed [is] the man who shall meditate by day and by night."[11] About that [law] the same David [says] again: "The law of the Lord [is] unblameable,[12] converting souls; the statutes

[1] Job xxxii. 21, Lev. xix. 15, and the references there.

[2] Comp. Isa. xliii. 18.

[3] Comp. Luke ix. 62.

[4] There is no passage, so far as I am aware, in Isaiah containing this distinct assertion. We have almost the exact words in Rev. xxi. 4. The reference may be to Isa. xlii. 9; but there the Eng. ver. reads, "are come to pass," and the LXX. have τὰ ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἰδοὺ ἥκασι.

[5] Comp. Jer. iv. 3 in LXX.

[6] Cf. Phil. iii. 13.

[7] Comp. Matt. xi. 13; Luke xvi. 16.

[8] See Matt. v. 17.

[9] See Acts xv. 10.

[10] See Gal. ii. 4, v. 1, 13.

[11] Ps. i. 1, briefly.

[12] Ps. xix. 7: "perfect," Eng. ver. In LXX. it is xviii. 8.

of the Lord [are] direct, delighting hearts; the precept of the Lord far-shining, enlightening eyes." Thus, too, the apostle: "And so the law indeed is holy, and the precept holy and most good"[1]—"Thou shalt not commit adultery," of course. But he had withal said above: "Are we, then, making void the law through faith? Far be it; but we are establishing the law"[2]—forsooth in those [points] which, being even now interdicted by the New Testament, are prohibited by an even more emphatic precept: instead of, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Whoever shall have seen with a view to concupiscence, hath already committed adultery in his own heart;"[3] and instead of, "Thou shalt not kill," "Whoever shall have said to his brother, Racha, shall be in danger of hell."[4] Ask [yourself] whether the law of not committing adultery be still in force, to which has been added that of not indulging concupiscence. Besides, if any precedents [taken from the Old Dispensation] shall favour you in [the secrecy of] your bosom, they shall not be set in opposition to this discipline which we are maintaining. For it is in vain that an additional law has been reared, condemning the *origin* even of sins—that is, concupiscences and wills—no less than the actual deeds; if the fact that pardon was of old in some cases conceded to adultery is to be a reason why it shall be conceded at the present day. "What will be the reward attaching to the restrictions imposed upon the more fully developed discipline of the present day, except that the elder [discipline] may be made the agent for granting indulgence to your prostitution?" In that case, you will grant pardon to the idolater too, and to every apostate, because we find the People itself, so often guilty of these crimes, as often reinstated in their former privileges. You will maintain communion, too, with the murderer: because Ahab, by deprecation, washed away [the guilt of] Naboth's blood;[5] and David, by confession, purged Uriah's slaughter, together with its cause—adultery.[6] That

[1] Rom. vii. 12, not literally.
[2] Rom. iii. 31.
[3] Matt. v. 27, 28.
[4] Matt. v. 21, 22.
[5] See 1 Kings xxi. (in LXX. 3 Kings xx.).
[6] See 2 Sam. xi., xii. 1–13.

done, you will condone incests, too, for Lot's sake;[1] and fornications combined with incest, for Judah's sake;[2] and base marriages with prostitutes, for Hosea's sake;[3] and not only the frequent repetition of marriage, but its simultaneous plurality, for our fathers' sakes: for, of course, it is meet that there should also be a perfect equality of grace in regard of *all* deeds to which indulgence was in days bygone granted, if on the ground of some pristine precedent pardon is claimed for *adultery*. We, too, indeed have precedents in the selfsame antiquity on the side of our opinion,—[precedents] of judgment not merely not waived, but even summarily executed upon fornication. And of course it is a sufficient one, that so vast a number—[the number] of 24,000—of the People, when they committed fornication with the daughters of Madian, fell in one plague.[4] But, with an eye to the glory of Christ, I prefer to derive [my] discipline from Christ. Grant that the pristine days may have had—if the Psychics please—even a *right* of [indulging] every immodesty; grant that, before Christ, the flesh may have disported itself, nay, may have *perished* before its Lord went to seek and bring it back: not yet was it worthy of the gift of salvation; not yet apt for the office of sanctity. It was still, up to that time, accounted as being *in Adam*, with its own vicious nature, easily indulging concupiscence after whatever it had seen to be "attractive to the sight,"[5] and looking back at the lower things, and checking its itching with fig-leaves.[6] Universally inherent was the virus of lust — the dregs which are formed out of milk contain it — [dregs] fitted [for so doing], in that even the waters themselves had not yet been bathed. But when the Word of God descended into flesh,—[flesh] not unsealed even by marriage, —and "the Word was made flesh,"[7]—[flesh] never to be unsealed by marriage,—which was to find its way to the tree not of incontinence, but of endurance; which was to taste

[1] See Gen. xix. 30–38. [2] See Gen. xxxviii.
[3] See Hos. i. 2, 3, iii. 1–3. [4] See Num. xxv. 1–9; 1 Cor. x. 8.
[5] See Gen. iii. 6; and comp. 1 John ii. 16.
[6] See Gen. iii. 7. [7] John i. 14.

from that tree not anything sweet, but something bitter; which was to pertain not to the infernal regions, but to heaven; which was to be precinct not with the leaves of lasciviousness, but the flowers of holiness;[1] which was to impart to the waters its own purities—thenceforth, whatever flesh [is] "in Christ"[2] has lost its pristine soils, is now a thing different, emerges in a new state, no longer [generated] of the slime of natural seed, nor of the grime of concupiscence, but of "pure water" and a "clean Spirit." And, accordingly, why excuse it on the ground of pristine precedent? It did not bear the names of "body of Christ,"[3] of "members of Christ,"[4] of "temple of God,"[5] at the time when it used to obtain pardon for adultery. And thus if, from the moment when it changed its condition, and "having been baptized into Christ put on Christ,"[6] and was "redeemed with a great price"—"the blood," to wit, "of the Lord and Lamb"[7]—you take hold of any one precedent (be it precept, or law, or sentence,) of indulgence granted, or to be granted, to adultery and fornication,—you have likewise at our hands a definition of the time from which the age of the question dates.

Chap. vii.—*Of the parables of the lost ewe and the lost drachma.*

You shall have leave to begin with the parables, where you have the lost ewe re-sought by the Lord, and carried back on His shoulders.[8] Let the very paintings upon your cups come forward to show whether even in them the figurative meaning of that sheep will shine through [the outward semblance, to teach] whether a Christian or heathen sinner be the object it aims at in the matter of restoration. For we put in a demurrer arising out of the teaching of nature, out of the law of ear and tongue, out of the soundness of the mental faculty, to the effect that such answers are always given as are called forth [by the question,—answers], that is,

[1] Or, "chastity." [2] Comp. 2 Cor. v. 17. [3] 1 Cor. xii. 27.
[4] *Ib.* and vi. 15. [5] 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19. [6] Gal. iii. 27.
[7] Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 20, and the references there. [8] Luke xv. 3–7.

to the [questions] which call them forth. That which was calling forth [an answer in the present case] was, I take it, the fact that the Pharisees were muttering in indignation at the Lord's admitting to His society heathen publicans and sinners, and communicating with them in food. When, in reply to this, the Lord had figured the restoration of the lost ewe, to whom else is it credible that He configured it but to the lost *heathen*, about whom the question was then in hand,—not about a *Christian*, who up to that time had no existence? Else, what kind of [hypothesis] is it that the Lord, like a quibbler in answering, omitting the present subject-matter which it was His duty to refute, should spend His labour about one yet future? "But a 'sheep' properly means a Christian,[1] and the Lord's 'flock' is the people of the church,[2] and the 'good shepherd' is Christ;[3] and hence in the 'sheep' we must understand a Christian who has erred from the church's 'flock.'" In that case, you make the Lord to have given no answer to the Pharisees' muttering, but to your presumption. And yet you will be bound so to defend that presumption, as to deny that the [points] which you think applicable to Christians are referable to a heathen. Tell me, is not all mankind one flock of God? Is not the same God both Lord and Shepherd of the universal nations?[4] Who more "perishes" from God than the heathen, so long as he "errs?" Who is more "re-sought" by God than the heathen, when he is recalled by Christ? In fact, it is among heathens that this order finds antecedent place; if, that is, Christians are not otherwise made out of heathens than by being first "lost," and "re-sought" by God, and "carried back" by Christ. So likewise ought this order to be kept, that we may interpret any such [figure] with reference to those in whom it finds prior place. But you, I take it, would wish this: that He should represent the ewe as lost not from a flock, but from an ark or a chest! In like manner, albeit He calls the remaining number of the heathens "righteous," it does not follow

[1] Comp. John x. 27.
[2] Comp. Acts xx. 28.
[3] Comp. John x. 11.
[4] Comp. Rom. iii. 29.

that He shows them to be *Christians ;* dealing as He is with *Jews*, and at that very moment refuting them, because they were indignant at the hope of the heathens. But in order to express, in opposition to the Pharisees' envy, His own grace and goodwill even in regard of one heathen, He preferred the salvation of one sinner by repentance to theirs by righteousness; or else, pray, were the Jews *not* "righteous," and such as "had no need of repentance," having, as they had, as pilotages of discipline and instruments of fear, "the Law and the Prophets?" He set them therefore in the parable—and if not such as they were, yet such as they ought to have been—that they might blush the more when they heard that repentance was necessary to others, and not to themselves.

Similarly, the parable of the drachma,[1] as being called forth out of the same subject-matter, we equally interpret with reference to a heathen; albeit it had been "lost" in a house, as it were in the church; albeit "found" by aid of a "lamp," as it were by aid of God's word.[2] Nay, but this whole world is the one house of all; in which world it is more the heathen, who is found in darkness, whom the grace of God enlightens, than the Christian, who is already in God's light.[3] Finally, it is *one* "straying" which is ascribed to the ewe and the drachma: [and this is an evidence in my favour]; for if the parables had been composed with a view to a *Christian* sinner, after the loss of his faith, a *second* loss and restoration of them would have been noted.

I will now withdraw for a short time from this position; in order that I may, even by withdrawing, the more recommend it, when I shall have succeeded even thus also in confuting the presumption of the opposite side. I admit that the sinner portrayed in each parable is one who is already a Christian; yet not that on this account must he be affirmed to be such an one as can be restored, through repentance, from the crime of adultery and fornication. For although he be said to "have perished," there will be the *kind* of per-

[1] Luke xv. 8–10. [2] Comp. Ps. cxix. 105 (in LXX. cxviii. 105).
[3] Comp. 1 John i. 5–7, ii. 8; also Rom. xiii. 12, 13; 1 Thess. v. 4, 5.

dition to treat of; inasmuch as the "ewe" "perished" not by dying, but by straying; and the "drachma" not by being destroyed, but by being hidden. In this sense, a thing which is safe may be said to "have perished." Therefore the believer, too, "perishes," by lapsing out of [the right path] into a public exhibition of charioteering frenzy, or gladiatorial gore, or scenic foulness, or athletic vanity; or else if he has lent the aid of any special "arts of curiosity" to sports, to the convivialities of heathen solemnity, to official exigence, to the ministry of another's idolatry; if he has impaled himself upon some word of ambiguous denial, or else of blasphemy. For some such cause he has been driven outside the flock; or even himself, perhaps, by anger, by pride, by jealousy, [or]—as, in fact, often happens—by disdaining to submit to chastisement, has broken away [from it]. He ought to be re-sought and recalled. That which can be recovered does not "perish," unless it persist in remaining outside. You will well interpret the parable by recalling the sinner *while he is still living*. But, for the adulterer and fornicator, who is there who has not pronounced him to be *dead* immediately upon commission of the crime? With what face will you restore to the flock one who is dead, on the authority of that parable which recalls a sheep *not* dead?

Finally, if you are mindful of the prophets, when they are chiding the shepherds, there is a word—I think it is Ezekiel's: "Shepherds, behold, ye devour the milk, and clothe you with the fleeces: what is strong ye have slain; what is weak ye have not tended; what is shattered ye have not bound; what has been driven out ye have not brought back; what has perished ye have not re-sought."[1] Pray, does he withal upbraid them at all concerning that which is *dead*, that they have taken no care to restore that too to the flock? Plainly, he makes it an additional reproach that they have caused the sheep to perish, and to be eaten up by the beasts of the field; nor can they either "perish mortally," or be "eaten up," if they are left remaining. "Is it not possible—[granting] that ewes which have been mortally lost, and eaten up, are

[1] See Ezek. xxxiv. 1–4.

recovered—that (in accordance also with the example of the drachma [lost and found again] even within the house of God, the church) there may be some sins of a moderate character, proportionable to the small size and the weight of a drachma, which, lurking in the same church, and by and by in the same discovered, forthwith are brought to an end in the same with the joy of amendment?" But of adultery and fornication it is not a drachma, but a talent, [which is the measure]; and for searching them out there is need not of the javelin-light of a lamp, but of the spear-like ray of the entire sun. No sooner has [such a] man made his appearance than he is expelled from the church; nor does he remain there; nor does he cause joy to the church which discovers him, but grief; nor does he invite the congratulation of her neighbours, but the fellowship in sadness of the surrounding fraternities.

By comparison, even in this way, of this our interpretation with theirs, the arguments of both the ewe and the drachma will all the more refer to the heathen, that they cannot possibly apply to the Christian guilty of the sin for the sake of which they are wrested into a forced application to the Christian on the opposite side.

Chap. viii.—*Of the prodigal son.*

But, however, the majority of interpreters of the parables are deceived by the selfsame result as is of very frequent occurrence in the case of embroidering garments with purple. When you think that you have judiciously harmonized the proportions of the hues, and believe yourself to have succeeded in skilfully giving vividness to their mutual combination; presently, when each body [of colour] and [the various] lights are fully developed, the convicted diversity will expose all the error. In the selfsame darkness, accordingly, with regard to the parable of the two sons also, they are led by some figures [occurring in it], which harmonize in hue with the present [state of things], to wander out of the path of the true light of that comparison which the subject-matter of the parable presents. For they set down, as represented in

the two sons, two peoples—the elder the Jewish, the younger the Christian: for they cannot in the sequel arrange for the Christian sinner, in the person of the younger son, to obtain pardon, unless in the person of the elder they first portray the Jewish. Now, if I shall succeed in showing that the Jewish fails to suit the comparison of the elder son, the consequence of course will be, that the Christian will not be admissible [as represented] by the joint figure of the younger son. For although the Jew withal be called "a son," and an "elder one," inasmuch as he had priority in adoption;[1] although, too, he envy the Christian the reconciliation of God the Father,—a point which the opposite side most eagerly catches at,—still it will be no speech of a Jew to the Father: "Behold, in how many years do I serve Thee, and Thy precept have I never transgressed." For when has the Jew *not* been a transgressor of the law; hearing with the ear, and not hearing;[2] holding in hatred him who reproveth in the gates,[3] and in scorn holy speech?[4] So, too, it will be no speech of the Father to the Jew: "Thou art always with me, and all mine are thine." For the Jews are pronounced "apostate sons, begotten indeed and raised on high, but who have not understood the Lord, and who have quite forsaken the Lord, and have provoked unto anger the Holy One of Israel."[5] That all things, plainly, were *conceded* to the Jew, we shall admit; but he has likewise had every more savoury morsel torn from his throat,[6] not to say the very land of paternal promise. And accordingly the Jew at the present day, no less than the younger son, having squandered God's substance, is a beggar in alien territory, serving even until now its princes, that is, the princes of this world.[7] Seek, therefore, the Christians some other as their brother; for the Jew the parable does not admit. Much more aptly would they have matched the Christian with the elder, and the Jew with the younger son, "according to the analogy

[1] See Ex. iv. 22; Rom. ix. 4. [2] Comp. Isa. vi. 9.
[3] Comp. Isa. xxix. 21. [4] Comp. Jer. xx. 7, 8. [5] Comp. Isa. i. 2–4.
[6] See Ps. lxxviii. 30, 31 (in LXX. it is lxxvii. 30, 31).
[7] Or "age"—sæculi. Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 6.

of faith,"[1] if the order of each people as intimated from Rebecca's womb[2] permitted the inversion: only that [in that case] the concluding paragraph would oppose them; for it will be fitting for the Christian to rejoice, and not to grieve, at the restoration of Israel, if it be true, [as it is], that the whole of our hope is intimately united with the remaining expectation of Israel.[3] Thus, even if some [features in the parable] are favourable, yet by others of a contrary significance the thorough carrying out of this comparison is destroyed; although (albeit all points be capable of corresponding with mirror-like accuracy) there be one cardinal danger in interpretations—the danger lest the felicity of our comparisons be tempered with a different aim from that which the subject-matter of each particular parable has bidden us [temper it]. For we remember [to have seen] actors withal, while accommodating allegorical gestures to their ditties, giving expression to such as are far different from the immediate plot, and scene, and character, and yet *with the utmost congruity*. But away with extraordinary ingenuity, for it has nothing to do with our subject. Thus heretics, too, apply the selfsame parables where they list, and exclude them [in other cases]—not where they *ought*—with the utmost aptitude. Why the utmost aptitude? Because from the very beginning they have moulded together the very subject-matters of their doctrines in accordance with the opportune incidences of the parables. Loosed as they are from the constraints of the rule of truth, they have had leisure, of course, to search into and put together those things of which the parables seem [to be symbolical].

CHAP. IX.—*Certain general principles of parabolic interpretation. These applied to the parables now under consideration, especially to that of the prodigal son.*

We, however, who do not make the parables the sources whence we devise our subject-matters, but the subject-matters the sources whence we interpret the parables, do not labour

[1] Comp. Rom. xii. 6. [2] Comp. Rom. ix. 10–13; Gen. xxv. 21–24.
[3] Comp. Rom. xi. 11–36.

hard, either, to twist all things [into shape] in the exposition, while we take care to avoid all contradictions. Why "an hundred sheep?" and why, to be sure, "ten drachmas?" And what is that "besom?" Necessary it was that He who was desiring to express the extreme pleasure which the salvation of *one* sinner gives to God, should name some special quantity of a numerical whole from which to describe that "one" had perished. Necessary it was that the style of one engaged in searching for a "drachma" in a "house," should be aptly fitted with the helpful accompaniment of a "besom" as well as of a "lamp." For curious niceties of this kind not only render some things suspected, but, by the subtlety of forced explanations, generally lead away from the truth. There are, moreover, some points which are just simply introduced with a view to the structure and disposition and texture of the parable, in order that they may be worked up throughout to the end for which the typical example is being provided. Now, of course the [parable of] the two sons will point to the same end as [those of] the drachma and the ewe: for it has the selfsame cause [to call it forth] as those to which it coheres, and the selfsame "muttering," of course, of the Pharisees at the intercourse between the Lord and heathens. Or else, if any doubts that in the land of Judea, subjugated as it had been long since by the hand of Pompey and of Lucullus, the publicans were heathens, let him read Deuteronomy: "There shall be no tribute-weigher of the sons of Israel."[1] Nor would the name of publicans have been so execrable in the eyes of the Lord, unless as being a "strange"[2] name,—[a name] of such as put up the pathways of the very sky, and earth, and sea, for sale. Moreover, when [the writer] adjoins "sinners" to "publicans,"[3] it does not follow that he shows them to have been Jews, albeit some may possibly have been so; but by placing on a par the one *genus* of heathens

[1] Oehler refers to Deut. xxiii. 19; but the ref. is not satisfactory.

[2] Extraneum. Comp. such phrases as "*strange* children," Ps. cxliv. 7, 11 (cxliii. 7, 11, in LXX.), and Hos. v. 7; "*strange* gods," etc.

[3] See Luke xv. 1, 2; Matt. ix. 10, 11, xi. 19; Mark ii. 15, 16; Luke v. 29, 30.

—some sinners by office, that is, publicans; some by nature, that is, not publicans—he has drawn a distinction between them. Besides, the Lord would not have been censured for partaking of food with Jews, but with heathens, from whose board the Jewish discipline excludes [its disciples].[1]

Now we must proceed, in the case of the prodigal son, to consider first that which is more useful; for no adjustment of examples, albeit in the most nicely-poised balance, shall be admitted if it shall prove to be most hurtful to salvation. But the whole system of salvation, as it is comprised in the maintenance of discipline, we see is being subverted by that interpretation which is affected by the opposite side. For if it is a *Christian* who, after wandering far from his Father, squanders, by living heathenishly, the "substance" received from God his Father,—[the substance], of course, of baptism—[the substance], of course, of the Holy Spirit, and (in consequence) of eternal hope; if, stripped of his mental "goods," he has even handed his service over to the prince of the world[2]—who else but the devil?—and by him being appointed over the business of "feeding swine"—of tending unclean spirits, to wit—has recovered his senses so as to return to his Father,—the result will be, that, not adulterers and fornicators, but idolaters, and blasphemers, and renegades, and every class of apostates, will by this parable make satisfaction to the Father; and in this way [it may] rather [be said that] the whole "substance" of the sacrament is most truly wasted away. For who will fear to squander what he has the power of afterwards recovering? Who will be careful to preserve to perpetuity what he will be able to lose *not* to perpetuity? Security in sin is likewise an appetite for it. Therefore the apostate withal will recover his former "garment," the robe of the Holy Spirit; and a renewal of the "ring," the sign and seal of baptism; and Christ will again be "slaughtered;"[3] and he will recline on that couch from which such as are *unworthily clad* are wont to be lifted by the torturers, and

[1] See Acts x. 28, xi. 3. [2] Sæculi. Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 8; 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[3] Besides the reference to Luke xv. 23, there may be a reference to Heb. vi. 6.

cast away into darkness,[1]—much more such as have been *stripped.* It is therefore a further step if it is not *expedient,* [any more than *reasonable*], that the story of the prodigal son should apply to a Christian. Wherefore, if the image of a "son" is not entirely suitable to a Jew either, our interpretation shall be simply governed with an eye to the object the Lord had in view. The Lord had come, of course, to save that which "had perished;"[2] "a Physician" necessary to "the sick" "more than to the whole."[3] This fact He was in the habit both of typifying in parables and preaching in direct statements. Who among men "perishes," who falls from health, but he who knows not the Lord? Who is "safe and sound," but he who knows the Lord? These two classes—"brothers" by birth—this parable also will signify. See whether the heathen have in God the Father the "substance" of origin, and wisdom, and natural power of Godward recognition; by means of which power the apostle withal notes that "in the wisdom of God, the world through wisdom knew not God,"[4] —[wisdom] which, of course, it had received originally from God. This ["substance"], accordingly, he "squandered;" having been cast by his moral habits far from the Lord, amid the errors and allurements and appetites of the world,[5] where, compelled by hunger after truth,[6] he handed himself over to the prince of this age. He set him over "swine," to feed that flock familiar to demons,[7] where he would not be master of a supply of vital food, and at the same time would see others [engaged] in a divine work, having abundance of heavenly bread. He remembers his Father, God; he returns to Him when he has been satisfied; he receives again the pristine "garment,"—the condition, to wit, which Adam by transgression had lost. The "ring" also he is then wont to receive for the first time, wherewith, after being interrogated,[8] he publicly seals the agreement of faith, and thus

[1] See Matt. xxii. 11–14.
[2] See Matt. xviii. 11.
[3] Matt. ix. 12; Mark ix. 17; Luke v. 21.
[4] 1 Cor. i. 21.
[5] Sæculi.
[6] Amos viii. 11.
[7] See Matt. viii. 30–34; Mark v. 11–14; Luke viii. 32, 33.
[8] Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 21; and Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 63, 3.

thenceforward feeds upon the "fatness" of the Lord's body, —the Eucharist, to wit. This will be the prodigal son, who never in days bygone was thrifty; who was from the first prodigal, because *not* from the first a Christian. Him withal, returning from the world to the Father's embraces, the Pharisees mourned over, in the persons of the "publicans and sinners." And accordingly to this point alone the elder brother's envy is adapted: not because the Jews were innocent, and obedient to God, but because they envied the nations salvation; being plainly they who *ought* to have been "ever with" the Father. And of course it is immediately over the *first* calling of the Christian that the Jew groans, not over his *second* restoration: for the former reflects its rays even upon the heathen; but the latter, which takes place in the churches, is not known even to the Jews. I think that I have advanced interpretations more consonant with the subject-matter of the parables, and the congruity of things, and the preservation of disciplines. But if the view with which the opposite party is eager to mould the ewe, and the drachma, and the voluptuousness of the son to the shape of the Christian sinner, is that they may endow adultery and fornication with [the gift of] repentance; it will be fitting either that all other crimes equally capital should be conceded remissible, or else that their peers, adultery and fornication, should be retained inconcessible.

But it is more [to the point] that it is not lawful to draw conclusions about anything else than the subject which was immediately in hand. In short, if it were lawful to transfer the parables to other ends [than they were originally intended for], it would be rather to *martyrdom* that we would direct the hope drawn from those now in question; for that is the only thing which, after all his substance has been squandered, will be able to restore the son; and will joyfully proclaim that the drachma has been found, albeit among all [rubbish] on a dungheap; and will carry back into the flock on the shoulders of the Lord Himself the ewe, fugitive though she have been over all that is rough and rugged. But we prefer, if it must be so, to be *less* wise *in* the Scriptures, than

to be wise *against* them. We are as much bound to keep the *sense* of the Lord as His *precept*. Transgression in interpretation is not lighter than in conversation.

Chap. x.—*Repentance more competent to heathens than to Christians.*

When, therefore, the yoke which forbade the discussion of these parables with a view to the heathens has been shaken off, and the necessity once for all discerned or admitted of not interpreting otherwise than is [suitable to] the subject-matter of the proposition; they contend in the next place, that the official proclamation of repentance is not even applicable to heathens, since their sins are not amenable to it, imputable as they are to ignorance, which nature alone renders culpable before God. Hence the remedies are unintelligible to such to whom the perils themselves are unintelligible: whereas the principle of repentance finds there its corresponding place where sin is committed with conscience and will, where both the fault and the favour are intelligible; that he who mourns, he who prostrates himself, is he who knows both what he has lost and what he will recover if he makes to God the offering of his repentance—to God who, of course, offers that repentance rather to sons than to strangers.

Was that, then, the reason why Jonah thought not repentance necessary to the heathen Ninevites, when he tergiversated in the duty of preaching? or did he rather, foreseeing the mercy of God poured forth even upon strangers, fear that that mercy would, as it were, destroy [the credit of] his proclamation? and accordingly, for the sake of a profane city, not yet possessed of a knowledge of God, still sinning in ignorance, did the prophet well-nigh perish?[1] except that he suffered a typical example of the Lord's passion, which was to redeem heathens as well [as others] on their repentance. It is enough for me that even John, when "strewing the Lord's ways,"[2] was the herald of repentance no less to such as were on military service and to publicans, than to the sons of Abraham.[3] The Lord Himself presumed repent-

[1] Comp. Jonah i. iv. [2] See Luke i. 76. [3] See Luke iii. 8, 12, 14.

ance on the part of the Sidonians and Tyrians if they had seen the evidences of His "miracles."[1]

Nay, but I will even contend that repentance is *more* competent to natural sinners than to voluntary. For he will merit its fruit who has not yet *used* more than he who has already withal *abused* it; and remedies will be more effective on their first application than when out-worn. No doubt the Lord is "kind" to "the unthankful,"[2] rather than to the ignorant! and "merciful" to the "reprobates" sooner than to such as have yet had no probation! so that insults offered to His clemency do not rather incur His *anger* than His *caresses!* and He does not more willingly impart to strangers that [clemency] which, in the case of His own sons, He has lost, seeing that He has thus adopted the Gentiles while the Jews make sport of His patience! But what the Psychics mean is this—that God, the Judge of righteousness, prefers the repentance to the death of that sinner who has preferred death to repentance! If this is so, it is by sinning that we merit favour.

Come, you rope-walker upon modesty, and chastity, and every kind of sexual sanctity, who, by the instrumentality of a discipline of this nature remote from the path of truth, mount with uncertain footstep upon a most slender thread, balancing flesh with spirit, moderating your animal principle by faith, tempering your eye by fear; why are you thus wholly engaged in a single step? Go on, if you succeed in finding power and will, while you are so secure, and as it were upon solid ground. For if any wavering of the flesh, any distraction of the mind, any wandering of the eye, shall chance to shake you down from your equipoise, "God is good." To His own [children], not to heathens, He opens His bosom: a second repentance will await you; you will again, from being an adulterer, be a Christian! These [pleas] you [will urge] to me, most benignant interpreter of God. But I would yield my ground to you, if the scripture of "the Shepherd,"[3] which is the only one which favours

[1] Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13. [2] Comp. Luke vi. 35.
[3] *i.e.* the "Shepherd" of Hermas. See *de Or.* c. xvi.

adulterers, had deserved to find a place in the Divine canon; if it had not been habitually judged by every council of churches (even of your own) among apocryphal and false [writings]; itself adulterous, and hence a patroness of its comrades; from which in other respects, too, you derive initiation; to which, perchance, that "Shepherd" will play the patron whom you depict upon your [sacramental] chalice, [depict, I say, as] himself withal a prostitutor of the Christian sacrament, [and hence] worthily both the idol of drunkenness, and the brize of adultery by which the chalice will quickly be followed, [a chalice] from which you sip nothing more readily than [the flavour of] the "ewe" of [your] second repentance! I, however, imbibe the Scriptures of that Shepherd who cannot be broken. Him John forthwith offers me, together with the laver and duty of repentance; [and offers Him as] saying, "Bear worthy fruits of repentance: and say not, We have Abraham [as our] father"—for fear, to wit, lest they should again take flattering unctions for delinquency from the grace shown to the fathers—"for God is able from these stones to raise sons to Abraham." Thus it follows that we too [must judge] such as "sin no more" [as] "bearing worthy fruits of repentance." For what more ripens as the fruit of repentance than the achievement of emendation? But even if *pardon* is rather the "fruit of repentance," even pardon cannot co-exist without the cessation from sin. So is the cessation from sin the root of pardon, that pardon may be the fruit of repentance.

Chap. xi.—*From parables Tertullian comes to consider definite acts of the Lord.*

From the side of its pertinence to the gospel, the question of the parables indeed has by this time been disposed of. If, however, the Lord, by His *deeds* withal, issued any such proclamation in favour of sinners; as when He permitted contact even with His own body to the "woman, a sinner," —washing, as she did, His feet with tears, and wiping them with her hair, and inaugurating His sepulture with ointment; as when to the Samaritaness—not an adulteress by her now sixth marriage, but a prostitute—He showed (what He did

show readily to any one) who He was;[1]—no benefit is hence conferred upon our adversaries, even if it had been to such as were already Christians that He [in these several cases] granted pardon. For we now affirm: This is lawful to the Lord alone: may the power of His indulgence be operative at the present day![2] At those times, however, in which He lived on earth we lay this down definitively, that it is no prejudgment against us if pardon used to be conferred on sinners—even Jewish ones. For Christian discipline dates from the renewing of the Testament,[3] and (as we have premised) from the redemption of flesh—that is, the Lord's passion. None was perfect before the discovery of the order of faith; none a Christian before the resumption of Christ to heaven; none holy before the manifestation of the Holy Spirit from heaven, the Determiner of discipline itself.

Chap. xii.—*Of the verdict of the apostles, assembled in council, upon the subject of adultery.*

Accordingly, these who have received "another Paraclete" in and through the apostles,—[a Paraclete] whom, not recognising Him even in His special prophets, they no longer possess in the apostles either;—come, now, let them, even from the apostolic instrument, teach us the possibility that the stains of a flesh which after baptism has been repolluted, can by repentance be washed away. Do we not, in the apostles also, recognise the form of the Old Law with regard to the demonstration of adultery, how great [a crime] it is; lest perchance it be esteemed more trivial in the new stage of disciplines than in the old? When first the gospel thundered and shook the old system to its base, when dispute was being held on the question of retaining or not the Law; this is the first rule which the apostles, on the authority of the Holy Spirit, send out to those who were already beginning to be gathered to their side out of the nations: "It has seemed [good]," say they, "to the Holy Spirit and to us to

[1] John iv. 1–25. [2] Comp. c. iii. above.

[3] Comp. Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiv. 24, Luke xxii. 21, with Heb. ix. 11–20.

cast upon you no ampler weight than [that] of those [things] from which it is necessary that abstinence be observed; from sacrifices, and from fornications, and from blood:[1] by abstaining from which ye act rightly, the Holy Spirit carrying you." Sufficient it is, that in this place withal there has been preserved to adultery and fornication the post of their own honour between idolatry and murder: for the interdict upon "blood" we shall understand to be [an interdict] much more upon *human* blood. Well, then, in what light do the apostles will those crimes to appear which alone they select, in the way of careful guarding against, from the pristine Law? which alone they prescribe as necessarily to be abstained from? Not that they permit others; but that these alone they put in the foremost rank, of course as not remissible; [they,] who, for the heathens' sake, made the other burdens of the law remissible. Why, then, do they release our neck from so heavy a yoke, except to place for ever upon those [necks] these compendia of discipline? Why do they indulgently relax so many bonds, except that they may wholly bind us in perpetuity to such as are more necessary? They loosed us from the more numerous, that we might be bound up to abstinence from the more noxious. The matter has been settled by compensation: we have gained much, in order that we may render somewhat. But the compensation is not revocable; if, that is, it will be revoked by iteration—[iteration] of adultery, of course, and blood and idolatry: for it will follow that the [burden of] the whole law will be incurred, if the condition of pardon shall be violated. But it is not lightly that the Holy Spirit has come to an agreement with us —coming to this agreement even without our asking; whence He is the more to be honoured. His engagement none but an ungrateful man will dissolve. In that event, He will neither accept back what He has discarded, nor discard what He has retained. Of the latest Testament the condition is ever immutable; and, of course, the public recitation of that decree,[2] and the counsel embodied therein, will cease [only] with the world.[3] He has definitely enough refused pardon

[1] See Acts xv. 28, 29. [2] See Acts xv. 30 and xvi. 4. [3] Sæculo.

to those crimes the careful avoidance whereof He selectively enjoined; He has claimed whatever He has not inferentially conceded. Hence it is that there is no restoration of peace granted by the churches to "idolatry" or to "blood." From which final decision of theirs that the apostles should have departed, is (I think) not lawful to believe; or else, if some find it possible to believe so, they will be bound to prove it.

Chap. xiii.—*Of St. Paul, and the person whom he urges the Corinthians to forgive.*

We know plainly at this point, too, the suspicions which they raise. For, in fact, they suspect the Apostle Paul of having, in the second [Epistle] to the Corinthians, granted pardon to the selfsame fornicator whom in the first he has publicly sentenced to be "surrendered to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh,"[1]—impious heir as he was to his father's wedlock; as if he subsequently erased his own words, writing: "But if any hath wholly saddened, he hath not wholly saddened *me*, but in part, lest I burden you all. Sufficient is such a chiding which is given by many; so that, on the contrary, ye should prefer to forgive and console, lest, perhaps, by more abundant sadness, such an one be devoured. For which reason, I pray you, confirm toward him affection. For to this end withal have I written, that I may learn a proof of you, that in all [things] ye are obedient to me. But if ye shall have forgiven any, so [do] I; for I, too, if I have forgiven ought, have forgiven in the person of Christ, lest we be overreached by Satan, since we are not ignorant of his injections."[2] What [reference] is understood here to the fornicator? what to the contaminator of his father's bed?[3] what to the Christian who had overstepped the shamelessness of heathens?—since, of course, he would have absolved by a special pardon one whom he had condemned by a special anger. He is more obscure in his pity than in his indignation. He is more open in his austerity than in his lenity. And yet, [generally], anger is more readily indirect than indulgence. Things of a sadder

[1] See 1 Cor. v. 5. [2] See 2 Cor. ii. 5–11. [3] Comp. Gen. l. 4.

are more wont to hesitate than things of a more joyous cast. Of course the question in hand concerned some *moderate* indulgence; which [moderation in the indulgence] was now, if ever, to be divined, when it is usual for all the *greatest* indulgences not to be granted without public proclamation, so far [are they from being granted] without particularization. Why, do you yourself, when introducing into the church, for the purpose of melting the brotherhood by his prayers, the repentant adulterer, lead into the midst and prostrate him, all in haircloth and ashes, a compound of disgrace and horror, before the widows, before the elders, suing for the tears of all, licking the footprints of all, clasping the knees of all? And do you, good shepherd and blessed father that you are, to bring about the [desired] end of the man, grace your harangue with all the allurements of mercy in your power, and under the parable of the "ewe" go in quest of your goats?[1] do you, for fear lest your "ewe" again take a leap out from the flock—as if that were no more lawful for the future which was not even once lawful—fill all the rest likewise full of apprehension at the very moment of granting indulgence? And would the apostle so carelessly have granted indulgence to the atrocious licentiousness of fornication burdened with incest, as not at least to have exacted from the criminal even this legally established garb of repentance which you ought to have learned from him? as to have uttered no commination on the past? no allocution touching the future? Nay, more; he goes further, and beseeches that they "would confirm toward him affection," as if he were making satisfaction to him, not as if he were granting an indulgence! And yet I hear [him speak of] "affection," not "communion;" as [he writes] withal to the Thessalonians: "But if any obey not our word through the epistle, him mark; and associate not with him, that he may feel awed; not regarding [him] as an enemy, but rebuking as a brother."[2] Accordingly, he could have said that to a fornicator, too, "affection" only was conceded, not "communion" as well; to an incestuous man, however, not even

[1] Comp. Matt. xxv. 32, 33. [2] 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15.

"affection;" whom he would, to be sure, have bidden to be banished from their *midst*[1]—much more, of course, from their *mind*. "But he was apprehensive lest they should be 'overreached by Satan' with regard to the loss of that person whom himself had cast forth to Satan; or else lest, 'by abundance of mourning, he should be devoured' whom he had sentenced to 'destruction of the flesh.'" Here they go so far as to interpret "destruction of the flesh" of the office of repentance; in that by fasts, and squalor, and every species of neglect and studious ill-treatment devoted to the extermination of the flesh, it seems to make satisfaction to God; so that they argue that that fornicator—that incestuous person rather—having been delivered by the apostle to Satan, not with a view to "perdition," but with a view to "emendation," on the hypothesis that subsequently he would, on account of the "destruction" (that is, the general affliction) "of the flesh," attain pardon, therefore did actually attain it. Plainly, the selfsame apostle delivered to Satan Hymenæus and Alexander, "that they might be emended into not blaspheming,"[2] as he writes to his Timotheus. "But withal himself says that 'a stake[3] was given him, an angel of Satan,' by which he was to be buffeted, lest he should exalt himself." If they touch upon this [instance] withal, in order to lead us to understand that such as were "delivered to Satan" by him [were so delivered] with a view to emendation, not to perdition; what similarity is there between blasphemy and incest, and a soul entirely free from these,—nay, rather elated from no other source than the highest sanctity and all innocence; which [elation of soul] was being restrained in the apostle by "buffets," if you will, by means (as they say) of pain in the ear or head? Incest, however, and blasphemy, deserved to have delivered the entire persons of men to Satan himself for a possession, not to "an angel" of his. And [there is yet another point]: for about this it makes a difference, nay, rather withal in regard to this it is of the utmost consequence, that we find those men delivered by the apostle to Satan, but to the apostle himself an angel of Satan given. Lastly, when Paul is praying the Lord for its

[1] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 2. [2] 1 Tim. i. 20. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 7–10.

removal, what does he hear? "Hold my grace sufficient; for virtue is perfected in infirmity."[1] This they who are surrendered to Satan cannot hear. Moreover, if the crime of Hymenæus and Alexander—blasphemy, to wit—is irremissible in this and in the future age,[2] of course the apostle would not, in opposition to the determinate decision of the Lord, have given to Satan, *under a hope of pardon*, men already sunken from the faith into blasphemy; whence, too, he pronounced them "shipwrecked with regard to faith,"[3] having no longer the solace of the ship, the church. For to those who, after believing, have struck upon [the rock of] blasphemy, pardon is denied; on the other hand, *heathens* and *heretics* are daily emerging *out of* blasphemy. But even if he did say, "I delivered them to Satan, that they might receive the discipline of not blaspheming," he said it of the rest, who, by *their* deliverance to Satan—that is, their projection outside the church—had to be trained in the knowledge that there must be no blaspheming. So, therefore, the incestuous fornicator, too, he delivered, not with a view to emendation, but with a view to perdition, to Satan, to whom he had already, by sinning above an heathen, gone over; that they might learn there must be no fornicating. Finally, he says, "for the *destruction* of the flesh," not its "*torture*"—condemning the actual substance through which he had fallen out [of the faith], which substance had already perished immediately on the loss of baptism—"in order that the Spirit," he says, "may be saved in the day of the Lord." And [here, again, is a difficulty]: for let this point be inquired into, whether *the man's own spirit* will be saved. In that case, a spirit polluted with so great a wickedness will be saved; the object of the perdition of the flesh being, that the spirit may be saved *in penalty*. In that case, the interpretation which is contrary to ours will recognise a penalty *without the flesh*, if we lose the resurrection of the flesh. It remains, therefore, that his meaning was, that *that* Spirit which is accounted to exist *in the church* must be presented

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 9, not very exactly rendered.
[2] Ævo. Comp. Matt. xii. 32. [3] 1 Tim. i. 19.

"saved," that is, untainted by the contagion of impurities in the day of the Lord, by the ejection of the incestuous fornicator; if, that is, he subjoins: "Know ye not, that a little leaven spoileth the savour of the whole lump?"[1] And yet incestuous fornication was not a little, but a large, leaven.

Chap. xiv.—*The same subject continued.*

And—these intervening points having accordingly been got rid of—I return to the second of Corinthians; in order to prove that this saying also of the apostle, "Sufficient to such a man be *this rebuke* which [is administered] by many," is not suitable to the person of the fornicator. For if he had sentenced him "to be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh," of course he had *condemned* rather than *rebuked* him. Some other, then, it was to whom he willed the "rebuke" to be sufficient; if, that is, the fornicator had incurred not "rebuke" from his sentence, but "condemnation." For I offer you withal, for your investigation, this very question: Whether there were in the first epistle others, too, who "wholly saddened" the apostle by "acting disorderly,"[2] and "were wholly saddened" by him, through incurring [his] "rebuke," according to the sense of the second epistle; of whom some particular one may in that [second epistle] have received pardon. Direct we, moreover, our attention to the entire first epistle, written (that I may so say) as a whole, not with ink, but with gall; swelling, indignant, disdainful, comminatory, invidious, and shaped through [a series of] individual charges, with an eye to certain individuals who were, as it were, the proprietors of those charges? For so had schisms, and emulations, and discussions, and presumptions, and elations, and contentions required, that they should be laden with invidiousness, and rebuffed with curt reproof, and filed down by haughtiness, and deterred by austerity. And what kind of invidiousness is the pungency of humility? "To God I give thanks that I have baptized none of you, except Crispus and Gaius, lest

[1] 1 Cor. v. 6, where Tertullian appears to have used δολοῖ, not ζυμοῖ.
[2] Comp. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 11.

any say that I have baptized in mine own name."[1] "For neither did I judge to know anything among you but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."[2] And, "(I think) God hath selected us the apostles [as] hindmost, like men appointed to fight with wild beasts; since we have been made a spectacle to this world, both to angels and to men:" And, "We have been made the offscourings of this world, the refuse of all:" and, "Am I not free? am I not an apostle? have I not seen Christ Jesus our Lord?"[3] With what kind of superciliousness, on the contrary, was he compelled to declare, "But to me it is of small moment that I be interrogated by you, or by a human court-day; for neither am I conscious to myself [of any guilt];" and, "My glory none shall make empty."[4] "Know ye not that we are to judge angels?"[5] Again, of how open censure [does] the free expression [find utterance], how manifest the edge of the spiritual sword, [in words like these]: "Ye are already enriched! ye are already satiated! ye are already reigning!"[6] and, "If any thinks himself to know, he knoweth not yet how it behoves him to know!"[7] Is he not even then "smiting some one's face,"[8] in saying, "For who maketh *thee* to differ? What, moreover, hast thou which thou hast not received? Why gloriest thou as if thou have not received?"[9] Is he not withal "smiting them upon the mouth,"[10] [in saying]: "But some, in [their] conscience, even until now eat [it] as if [it were] an idol-sacrifice. But, so sinning, by shocking the weak consciences of the brethren thoroughly, they will sin against Christ."[11] By this time, indeed, [he mentions individuals] by name: "Or have we not a power of eating, and of drinking, and of leading about women, just as the other apostles withal, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" and, "If others attain to [a share] in power over you, [may] not we rather?"

[1] 1 Cor. i. 14, 15; but the Greek is, εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα.
[2] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[3] 1 Cor. ix. 1.
[4] Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 15.
[5] 1 Cor. vi. 3.
[6] 1 Cor. iv. 8, inaccurately.
[7] 1 Cor. viii. 2, inaccurately.
[8] See 2 Cor. xi. 20.
[9] 1 Cor. iv. 7, with some words omitted.
[10] Comp. Acts xxiii. 2.
[11] 1 Cor. viii. 7, 12, inaccurately.

In like manner he pricks *them*, too, with an individualizing pen: "Wherefore, let *him* who thinketh himself to be standing, see lest he fall;" and, "If *any seemeth* to be contentious, we have not such a custom, nor [has] the church of the Lord." With such a final clause [as the following], wound up with a malediction, "If *any loveth not* the Lord Jesus, be he anathema maranatha," he is, of course, striking *some particular individual* through.

But I will rather take my stand at that point where the apostle is more fervent, where the fornicator himself has troubled others also. "As if I be not about to come unto you, some are inflated. But I will come with more speed, if the Lord shall have permitted, and will learn not the speech of those who are inflated, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in speech, but in power. And what will ye? shall I come unto you in a rod, or in a spirit of lenity?" For what was to succeed? "There is heard among you generally fornication, and such fornication as [is] not [heard] even among the Gentiles, that one should have his own father's wife. And are ye inflated, and have ye not rather mourned, that he who hath committed such a deed may be taken away from the midst of you?" *For* whom were they to "mourn?" Of course, for one dead. *To* whom were they to mourn? Of course, to the Lord, in order that in some way or other he may be "taken away from the midst of them;" not, of course, in order that he may be put outside the church. For a thing would not have been requested of God which came within the official province of the president [of the church]; but [what would be requested of Him was], that through death—not only this death common to all, but one specially appropriate to that very flesh which was already a corpse, a tomb leprous with irremediable uncleanness—he might more fully [than by simple excommunication] incur the penalty of being "taken away" from the church. And accordingly, in so far as it was meantime possible for him to be "taken away," he "adjudged such an one to be surrendered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh." For it followed that flesh which

was being cast forth to the devil should be accursed, in order that it might be discarded from the sacrament of blessing, never to return into the camp of the church.

And thus we see in this place the apostle's severity divided, against one who was "inflated," and one who was "incestuous:" [we see the apostle] armed against the one with "a rod," against the other with a sentence,—a "rod," which he was threatening; a sentence, which he was executing: the former [we see] still brandishing, the latter instantaneously hurtling; [the one] wherewith he was rebuking, and [the other] wherewith he was condemning. And certain it is, that forthwith thereafter the rebuked one indeed trembled beneath the menace of the uplifted rod, but the condemned perished under the instant infliction of the penalty. Immediately the former retreated fearing the blow, the latter paying the penalty. When a letter of the selfsame apostle is sent a second time to the Corinthians, pardon is granted plainly; but it is uncertain *to whom*, because neither person nor cause is advertised. I will compare the cases with the senses. If the "incestuous" man is set before us, on the same platform will be the "inflated" man too. Surely the analogy of the case is sufficiently maintained, when the "inflated" is rebuked, but the "incestuous" is condemned. To the "inflated" pardon is granted, but after rebuke; to the "incestuous" no pardon seems to have been granted, as under condemnation. If it was to him for whom it was feared that he might be "devoured by mourning" that pardon was being granted, the "rebuked" one was still in danger of being devoured, losing heart on account of the commination, and mourning on account of the rebuke. The "condemned" one, however, was permanently accounted as already devoured, alike by his fault and by his sentence; [accounted, that is, as one] who had not to "mourn," but to *suffer* that which, before suffering it, he might have mourned. If the reason why pardon was being granted was "lest we should be defrauded by Satan," the loss against which precaution was being taken had to do with that which had not yet perished. No precaution is taken in the case of a thing finally despatched, but in the

case of a thing still safe. But the condemned one—condemned, too, to the possession of Satan—had already perished *from the church* at the moment when he had committed such a deed, not to say withal at the moment of being forsworn by the church itself. How should [the church] fear to suffer a fraudulent loss of him whom she had already lost on his eception, and whom, after condemnation, she could not have held? Lastly, to what will it be becoming for a judge to grant indulgence? to that which by a formal pronouncement he has decisively settled, or to that which by an interlocutory sentence he has left in suspense? And, of course, [I am speaking of] *that* judge who is not wont "to rebuild those things which he has destroyed, lest he be held a transgressor."[1]

Come, now, if he had not "wholly saddened" so many persons in the first epistle; if he had "rebuked" none, had "terrified"[2] none; if he had "smitten" the incestuous man alone; if, for his cause, he had sent none into panic, had struck [no] "inflated" one with consternation,—would it not be better for you to suspect, and more believing for you to argue, that rather some one far different had been in the same predicament at that time among the Corinthians; so that, rebuked, and terrified, and already wounded with mourning, he therefore—the moderate nature of his fault permitting it—subsequently received pardon, than that you should interpret that [pardon as granted] to an incestuous fornicator? For this you had been bound to read, even if not in an epistle, yet impressed upon the very character of the apostle, by [his] modesty more clearly than by the instrumentality of a pen: not to steep, to wit, Paul, the "apostle of Christ,"[3] the "teacher of the nations in faith and verity,"[4] the "vessel of election,"[5] the founder of churches, the censor of discipline, [in the guilt of] levity so great as that he should either have condemned rashly one whom he was presently to absolve, or else rashly absolved one whom he had not rashly condemned, albeit on the ground of that for-

[1] Comp. Gal. ii. 18.
[2] Comp. 2 Cor. x. 9.
[3] Comp. Rom. i. 1, and the beginnings of his epp. *passim.*
[4] 1 Tim. ii. 7.
[5] Acts ix. 15.

nication which is the result of simple immodesty, not to say on the ground of incestuous nuptials and impious voluptuousness and parricidal lust,—[lust] which he had refused to compare even with [the lusts of] the nations, for fear it should be set down to the account of custom; [lust] on which he would sit in judgment though absent, for fear the culprit should "gain the time;"[1] [lust] which he had condemned after calling to his aid even "the Lord's power," for fear the sentence should seem human. Therefore he has trifled both with his own "spirit,"[2] and with "the angel of the church,"[3] and with "the power of the Lord," if he rescinded what by their counsel he had formally pronounced.

CHAP. XV.—*The same subject continued.*

If you hammer out the sequel of that epistle to illustrate the meaning of the apostle, neither will that sequel be found to square with the obliteration of incest; lest even here the apostle be put to the blush by the incongruity of his later meanings. For what kind [of hypothesis] is it, that the very moment after making a largess of restoration to the privileges of ecclesiastical peace to an incestuous fornicator, he should forthwith have proceeded to accumulate exhortations about turning away from impurities, about pruning away of blemishes, about exhortations to deeds of sanctity, as if he had decreed nothing of a contrary nature just before? Compare, in short, [and see] whether it be his province to say, "Wherefore, having this ministration, in accordance with [the fact] that we have obtained mercy, we faint not; but renounce the secret things of disgrace,"[4] who has just released from condemnation one manifestly convicted of, not "disgrace" merely, but crime too: whether it be his province, again, to excuse a conspicuous immodesty, who, among the counts of his own labours, after "straits and pressures," after "fasts and vigils," has named "chastity" also:[5] whether it be, once more, his province to receive back into communion whatso-

[1] Comp. Dan. ii. 8.
[2] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 3.
[3] Comp. Rev. i. 20, ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 7, 14.
[4] 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2.
[5] *Ib.* vi. 5, 6.

ever reprobates, who writes, "For what society [is there] between righteousness and iniquity? what communion, moreover, between light and darkness? what consonance between Christ and Belial? or what part for a believer with an unbeliever? or what agreement between the temple of God and idols?" Will he not deserve to hear constantly [the reply]: "And in what manner do you make a separation between things which, in the former part of your epistle, by restitution of the incestuous one, you have joined? For by his restoration to concorporate unity with the church, righteousness is made to have fellowship with iniquity, darkness has communion with light, Belial is consonant with Christ, and believer shares the sacraments with unbeliever. And idols may see to themselves: the very vitiator of the temple of God is converted into a temple of God: for here, too, he says, 'For ye are a temple of the living God. For He saith, That I will dwell in you, and will walk in [you], and will be their God, and they shall be to me a people. Wherefore depart from the midst of them, be separate, and touch not the unclean.'[1] This [thread of discourse] also you spin out, O apostle, when at the very moment you yourself are offering your hand to so huge a whirlpool of impurities; nay, you superadd yet further, 'Having therefore this promise, beloved, cleanse we ourselves out from every defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting chastity in God's fear.'"[2] I pray you, had he who fixes such [exhortations] in our minds been recalling some notorious fornicator into the church? or is his reason for writing it, to prevent himself from appearing to you in the present day to have so recalled him? These [words of his] will be in duty bound alike to serve as a prescriptive rule for the foregone, and a prejudgment for the following, [parts of the epistle]. For in saying, toward the end of the epistle, "Lest, when I shall have come, God humble me, and I bewail many of those who have formerly sinned, and have not repented of the impurity which they have committed, the fornication, and the vileness,"[3] he did not, of

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 16–18. [2] 2 Cor. vii. 1, not accurately given.
[3] 2 Cor. xii. 21, again inexactly given.

course, determine that they were to be received back [by him *into* the church] if they should have entered [the path of] repentance, whom he was to find *in* the church, but that they were to be bewailed, and indubitably ejected, that they might lose [the benefit of] repentance. And, besides, it is not congruous that he, who had above asserted that there was no communion between light and darkness, righteousness and iniquity, should in this place have been indicating somewhat touching communion. But all such are ignorant of the apostle as understand anything in a sense contrary to the nature and design of the man himself, contrary to the norm and rule of his doctrines; so as to presume that he, a teacher of every sanctity, even by his own example, an execrator and expiator of every impurity, and universally consistent with himself in these points, restored ecclesiastical privileges to an incestuous person sooner than to some more mild offender.

Chap. xvi.—*General consistency of the apostle.*

Necessary it is, therefore, that the [character of the] apostle should be continuously pointed out to them; whom I will maintain to be such in the second of Corinthians withal, as I know [him to be] in all his letters. [He it is] who even in the first [epistle] was the first of all [the apostles] to dedicate the temple of God: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that in you the Lord dwells?"[1]—who likewise, for the consecrating and purifying [of] that temple, wrote the law pertaining to the temple-keepers: "If any shall have marred the temple of God, him shall God mar; for the temple of God is holy, which [temple] are ye."[2] Come, now; who in the world has [ever] redintegrated one who has been "marred" by God (that is, delivered to Satan with a view to destruction of the flesh), after subjoining for that reason, "Let none seduce himself;"[3] that is, let none presume that one "marred" by God can possibly be redintegrated anew? Just as, again, among all other crimes—nay, even *before* all others—when affirming that

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 16, inexactly. [2] Ver. 17, not quite correctly. [3] Ver. 18.

"adulterers, and fornicators, and effeminates, and cohabitors with males, will not attain the kingdom of God," he premised, "Do not err"[1]—to wit, if you think they will attain it. But to them from whom "the kingdom" is taken away, of course the life which exists in the kingdom is not permitted either. Moreover, by superadding, "But such indeed ye have been; but ye have received ablution, but ye have been sanctified, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God;"[2] in as far as he puts on the paid side of the account such sins *before* baptism, in so far *after* baptism he determines them irremissible, if it is true, [as it is], that they are not allowed to "receive ablution" anew. Recognise, too, in what follows, Paul [in the character of] an immoveable column of discipline and its rules: "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: God maketh a full end both of the one and of the others; but the body [is] not for fornication, but for God:"[3] for "Let us make man," said God, "[conformable] to our image and likeness." "And God made man; [conformable] to the image and likeness of God made He him."[4] "The Lord for the body:" yes; for "the Word was made flesh."[5] "Moreover, God both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us through His own power;"[6] on account, to wit, of the union of our body with Him. And accordingly, "Know ye not your bodies [to be] members of Christ?" because Christ, too, is God's temple. "Overturn this temple, and I will in three days' space resuscitate it."[7] "Taking away the members of Christ, shall I make [them] members of an harlot? Know ye not, that whoever is agglutinated to an harlot is made one body? (for the two shall be [made] into one flesh): but whoever is agglutinated to the Lord is one spirit? Flee fornication."[8] If revocable by pardon, in what sense am I to flee it, to turn adulterer anew? I shall gain nothing if I do flee it: I shall be "one body," to which by communion I shall be agglutinated.

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. [2] Ver. 11, inexactly. [3] Ver. 13.
[4] Comp. Gen. i. 26, 27. [5] John i. 14. [6] 1 Cor. vi. 14.
[7] John ii. 19. [8] 1 Cor. vi. 15-17.

"Every sin which a human being may have committed is extraneous to the body; but whoever fornicateth, sinneth against his own body."[1] And, for fear you should fly to that statement for a licence to fornication, on the ground that you will be sinning against a thing which is yours, not the Lord's, he takes you away from yourself, and awards you, according to his previous disposition, to Christ: "And ye are not your own;" immediately opposing [thereto], "for bought ye are with a price"—the blood, to wit, of the Lord:[2] "glorify and extol the Lord in your body."[3] See whether he who gives this injunction be likely to have pardoned one who has disgraced the Lord, and who has cast Him down from [the empire of] his body, and this indeed through incest. If you wish to imbibe to the utmost all knowledge of the apostle, in order to understand with what an axe of censorship he lops, and eradicates, and extirpates, every forest of lusts, for fear of permitting aught to regain strength and sprout again; behold him desiring souls to keep a fast from the legitimate fruit of nature—the apple, I mean, of marriage: "But with regard to what ye wrote, good it is for a man to have no contact with a woman; but, on account of fornication, let each one have his own wife: let husband to wife, and wife to husband, render what is due."[4] Who but must know that it was against his will that he relaxed the bond of this "good," in order to prevent fornication? But if he either has granted, or does grant, indulgence to fornication, of course he has frustrated the design of his own remedy, and will be bound forthwith to put the curb upon the nuptials of continence, if the fornication for the sake of which those nuptials are permitted shall cease to be feared. For [a fornication] which has indulgence granted it will not be feared. And yet he professes that he has granted the use of marriage "by way of indulgence, not of command."[5] For he "*wills*" all to be on a level with himself. But when things lawful are [only] granted by way of indulgence, who hope for things unlawful? "To the unmarried" also,

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 18. [2] Comp. 1 Pet. i. 19; and c. vi. above, *ad fin.*
[3] 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20, not exactly. [4] 1 Cor. vii. 1–3. [5] *Ib.* ver. 6.

"and widows," he says, "It is good, by his example, to persevere" [in their present state]; "but if they were too weak, to marry; because it is preferable to marry than to burn."[1] With what fires, I pray you, is it preferable to "burn"—[the fires] of concupiscence, or [the fires] of penalty? Nay, but if fornication is pardonable, it will not be an object of *concupiscence*. But it is more [the manner] of an apostle to take forethought for the fires of *penalty*. Wherefore, if it is *penalty* which "burns," it follows that fornication, which *penalty* awaits, is not pardonable. Meantime withal, while prohibiting divorce, he uses the Lord's precept against adultery as an instrument for providing, in place of divorce, either perseverance in widowhood, or else a reconciliation of peace: inasmuch as "whoever shall have dismissed a wife [for any cause] except the cause of adultery, maketh her commit adultery; and he who marrieth one dismissed by a husband committeth adultery."[2] What powerful remedies does the Holy Spirit furnish, to prevent, to wit, the commission anew of that which He wills not should anew be pardoned!

Now, if in all cases he says it is best for a man thus to be; "Thou art joined to a wife, seek not loosing" (that you may give no occasion to adultery); "thou art loosed from a wife, seek not a wife," that you may reserve an opportunity for yourself: "but withal, if thou shalt have married a wife, and if a virgin shall have married, she sinneth not; pressure, however, of the flesh such shall have,"—even here he is granting a permission by way of "sparing them."[3] On the other hand, he lays it down that "the time is wound up," in order that even "they who have wives may be as if they had them not." "For the fashion of this world is passing away,"—[this world] no longer, to wit, requiring [the command], "Grow and multiply." Thus he wills us to pass our life "without anxiety," because "the unmarried care about the Lord, how they may please God; the married, however, muse about the world,[4] how they may please their spouse."[5]

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 8, 9.
[2] Matt. v. 32.
[3] 1 Cor. vii. 26–28, constantly quoted in previous treatises.
[4] Mundo.
[5] Vers. 32, 33, loosely.

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Thus he pronounces that the "preserver of a virgin" doeth "better" than her "giver in marriage."[1] Thus, too, he discriminatingly judges her to be more blessed, who, after losing her husband subsequently to her entrance into the faith, lovingly embraces the opportunity of widowhood.[2] Thus he commends as Divine all these counsels of continence: "I think,"[3] he says, "I too have the Spirit of God."[4]

Who is this your most audacious assertor of all immodesty, plainly a "most faithful" advocate of the adulterous, and fornicators, and incestuous, in whose honour he has undertaken this cause against the Holy Spirit, so that he recites a false testimony from [the writings of] His apostle? No such indulgence granted Paul, who endeavours to obliterate "necessity of the flesh" wholly from [the list of] even honourable pretexts [for marriage unions]. He does grant "indulgence," I allow;—not to adulteries, but to nuptials. He does "spare," I allow;—marriages, not harlotries. He tries to avoid giving pardon even to nature, for fear he may flatter guilt. He is studious to put restraints upon the union which is heir to blessing, for fear that which is heir to curse be excused. This [one possibility] was left him—to purge the flesh from [natural] dregs, for [cleanse it] from [foul] stains he cannot. But this is the usual way with perverse and ignorant heretics; yes, and by this time even with Psychics universally: to arm themselves with the opportune support of some one ambiguous passage, in opposition to the disciplined host of sentences of the entire document.

Chap. xvii.—*Consistency of the apostle in his other epistles.*

Challenge me to front the apostolic line of battle; look at his epistles: they all keep guard in defence of modesty, of chastity, of sanctity; they all aim their missiles against the interests of luxury, and lasciviousness, and lust. What, in short, does he write to the Thessalonians withal? "For our consolation[5] [originated] not of seduction, nor of impurity:" and, "This is the will of God, your sanctification, that ye

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 38. [2] Vers. 39, 40. [3] Puto: Gr. δοκῶ.
[4] Ver. 40 *ad fin.* [5] 1 Thess. ii. 3, omitting the last clause.

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abstain from fornication; that each one know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, as [do] the nations which are ignorant of God."[1] What do the Galatians read? "Manifest are the works of the flesh." What are these? Among the first he has set "fornication, impurity, lasciviousness:" "[concerning] which I foretell you, as I have foretold, that whoever do such acts are not to attain by inheritance the kingdom of God."[2] The Romans, moreover,—what learning is more impressed upon them than that there must be no dereliction of the Lord after believing? "What, then, say we? Do we persevere in sin, in order that grace may superabound? Far be it. We, who are dead to sin, how shall we live in it still? Are ye ignorant that we who have been baptized in Christ have been baptized into His death? Buried with Him, then, we have been, through the baptism into the death, in order that, as Christ hath risen again from the dead, so we too may walk in newness of life. For if we have been buried together in the likeness of His death, why, we shall be [in that] of [His] resurrection too; knowing this, that our old man hath been crucified together with Him. But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall live, too, with Him; knowing that Christ, having been raised from the dead, no more dieth, [that] death no more hath domination over Him. For in that He died to sin, He died once for all; but in that He liveth, to God He liveth. Thus, too, repute ye yourselves dead indeed to sin, but living to God through Christ Jesus."[3] Therefore, Christ being *once for all* dead, none who, subsequently to Christ, has died, can live again to sin, and especially to so heinous a sin. Else, if fornication and adultery may by possibility be anew admissible, Christ withal will be able anew to die. Moreover, the apostle is urgent in prohibiting "sin from reigning in our mortal body,"[4] whose "infirmity of the flesh" he knew. "For as ye have tendered your members to servile impurity and iniquity, so too now tender them servants to righteousness unto holiness." For even if he has affirmed that "good dwelleth not

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 3–5. [2] Gal. v. 19–21. [3] Rom. vi. 1–11. [4] Ver. 12.

in his flesh,"[1] yet [he means] according to "the law of the letter,"[2] in which he "was:" but according to "the law of the Spirit,"[3] to which he annexes us, he frees us from the "infirmity of the flesh." "For the law," he says, "of the Spirit of life hath manumitted thee from the law of sin and of death."[4] For albeit he may appear to be partly disputing from the standpoint of Judaism, yet it is to us that he is directing the integrity and plenitude of the rules of discipline,—[us], for whose sake soever, labouring [as we were] in the law, "God hath sent, through flesh, His own Son, in similitude of flesh of sin; and, because of sin, hath condemned sin in the flesh; in order that the righteousness of the law," he says, "might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to flesh, but according to [the] Spirit. For they who walk according to flesh are sensible as to those things which are the flesh's, and they who [walk] according to [the] Spirit those which [are] the Spirit's."[5] Moreover, he has affirmed the "sense of the flesh" to be "death;"[6] hence, too, "enmity," and enmity *toward God;*[7] and that "they who are in the flesh," that is, in the *sense* of the flesh, "cannot please God:"[8] and, "If ye live according to flesh," he says, "it will come to pass that ye die."[9] But what do we understand "the sense of the flesh" and "the life of the flesh" [to mean], except whatever "it shames [one] to pronounce?"[10] for the other [works] of the flesh even an apostle would have named.[11] Similarly, too, [when writing] to the Ephesians, while recalling past [deeds], he warns [them] concerning the future: "In which we too had our conversation, doing the concupiscences and pleasures of the flesh."[12] Branding, in fine, such as had denied them-

[1] See Rom. vii. 18.

[2] This exact expression does not occur; but comp. 2 Cor. iii. 6.

[3] Comp. the last reference and Rom. viii. 2.

[4] Rom. viii. 2, omitting ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and substituting (unless it be a misprint) "te" for μέ.

[5] Rom. viii. 3–5. [6] Ver. 6. [7] Ver. 7.

[8] Ver. 8. [9] Ver. 12. [10] See Eph. v. 12.

[11] As he did to the Galatians: see Gal. v. 19–21.

[12] Eph. ii. 3, briefly, and not literally.

selves — Christians, to wit — on the score of having "delivered themselves up to the working of every impurity,"[1] "But ye," he says, "not so have learnt Christ." And again he says thus: "Let him who was wont to steal, steal no more."[2] But, similarly, let him who was wont to commit adultery hitherto, not commit adultery; and he who was wont to fornicate hitherto, not fornicate: for he would have added these [admonitions] too, had he been in the habit of extending pardon to such, or at all willed it to be extended —[he] who, not willing pollution to be contracted even by a word, says, "Let every base speech not proceed out of your mouth."[3] Again: "But let fornication and every impurity not be even named among you, as becometh saints,"[4]—so far is it from being excused,—"knowing this, that every fornicator or impure [person] hath not God's kingdom. Let none seduce you with empty words: on this account cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of unbelief."[5] Who "seduces with empty words" but he who states in a public harangue that adultery is remissible? not seeing into the fact that its very foundations have been dug out by the apostle, when he puts restraints upon drunkennesses and revellings, as withal here: "And be not inebriated with wine, in which is voluptuousness."[6] He demonstrates, too, to the Colossians what "members" they are to "mortify" upon earth: "fornication, impurity, lust, evil concupiscence," and "base talk."[7]

Yield up, by this time, to so many and such sentences, the one [passage] to which you cling. Paucity is cast into the shade by multitude, doubt by certainty, obscurity by plainness. Even if, for certain, the apostle had granted pardon of fornication to that Corinthian, it would be another instance of his once for all contravening his own practice to meet the requirement of the time. He circumcised Timotheus alone, and yet did away with circumcision.[8]

[1] Eph. iv. 17–20. [2] Ver. 28. [3] Ver. 29 *ad init.*
[4] Eph. v. 3. [5] Vers. 5, 6, not accurately.
[6] Ver. 18. [7] See Col. iii. 5, 8.
[8] Comp. Acts xvi. 1–3 with Gal. v. 2–6, and similar passages.

Chap. xviii.—*Answer to a Psychical objection.*

"But these [passages]," says [our opponent], "will pertain to the interdiction of all immodesty, and the enforcing of all modesty, yet without prejudice to the place of pardon; which [pardon] is not forthwith quite denied when sins are condemned, since the time of the pardon is concurrent with the condemnation which it excludes."

This piece of shrewdness on the part of the Psychics was [naturally] sequent; and accordingly we have reserved for this place the cautions which, even in the times of antiquity, were openly taken with a view to the refusing of ecclesiastical communion to cases of this kind.

For even in the Proverbs, which we call Parœmiæ, Solomon specially [treats] of the adulterer [as being] nowhere admissible to expiation. "But the adulterer," he says, "through indigence of senses acquireth perdition to his own soul; sustaineth dolors and disgraces. His ignominy, moreover, shall not be wiped away for the age. For indignation, full of jealousy, will not spare the man in the day of judgment."[1] If you think this said about a heathen, at all events about believers you have already heard [it said] through Isaiah: "Go out from the midst of them, and be separate, and touch not the impure."[2] You have at the very outset of the Psalms, "Blessed the man who hath not gone astray in the counsel of the impious, nor stood in the way of sinners, and sat in the state-chair of pestilence;"[3] whose voice,[4] withal, [is heard] subsequently: "I have not sat with the conclave of vanity; and with them who act iniquitously will I not enter" —this [has to do] with "*the church*" of such as act ill—"and with the impious will I not sit;"[5] and, "I will wash with the innocent mine hands, and Thine altar will I surround, Lord"[6] —as being "a host in himself"—inasmuch as indeed "With

[1] Prov. vi. 32-34.
[2] Isa. lii. 11, quoted in 2 Cor. vi. 17.
[3] Ps. i. 1 in LXX.
[4] *i.e.* the voice of this "blessed man," this true "Asher."
[5] Ps. xxvi. 4, 5 (in LXX. xxv. 4, 5).
[6] Ps. xxvi. (xxv. in LXX.) 6, not quite exactly.

an holy [man], holy Thou wilt be; and with an innocent man, innocent Thou wilt be; and with an elect, elect Thou wilt be; and with a perverse, perverse Thou wilt be."[1] And elsewhere: "But to the sinner saith the Lord, Why expoundest thou my righteous acts, and takest up my testament through thy mouth? If thou sawest a thief, thou rannest with him; and with adulterers thy portion thou madest."[2] Deriving his instructions, therefore, from hence, the apostle too says: "I wrote to you in the epistle, not to be mingled up with fornicators: not, of course, with the fornicators of this world"—and so forth—"else it behoved you to go out from the world. But now I write to you, if any is named a brother among you, [being] a fornicator, or an idolater" (for what so intimately joined?), "or a defrauder" (for what so near akin?), and so on, "with such to take no food even,"[3] not to say the Eucharist: because, to wit, withal "a little leaven spoileth the flavour of the whole lump."[4] Again to Timotheus: "Lay hands on no one hastily, nor communicate with others' sins."[5] Again to the Ephesians: "Be not, then, partners with them: for ye were at one time darkness."[6] And yet more earnestly: "Communicate not with the unfruitful works of darkness; nay rather withal convict them. For [the things] which are done by them in secrecy it is disgraceful even to utter."[7] What more disgraceful than immodesties? If, moreover, even from a "brother" who "walketh idly"[8] he warns the Thessalonians to withdraw themselves, how much more withal from a fornicator! For these are the deliberate judgments of Christ, "loving the church," who "hath delivered Himself up for her, that He may sanctify her (purifying her utterly by the laver of water) in the word, that He may present the church to Himself glorious, not having stain or wrinkle"—of course *after* the laver—"but [that] she may be holy and without reproach;"[9] thereafter, to wit, being "without wrinkle" as a

[1] Ps. xviii. 25, 26 (in LXX. Ps. xviii. 26, 27), nearly.
[2] Ps. l. (xlix. in LXX.) 16, 18.
[3] 1 Cor. v. 9–11.
[4] Ver. 6.
[5] 1 Tim. v. 22.
[6] Eph. v. 7, 8 *ad init.*
[7] Vers. 11, 12.
[8] 2 Thess. iii. 6.
[9] Eph. v. 26, 27.

virgin, "without stain" (of fornication) as a spouse, "without disgrace" (of vileness), as having been "utterly purified."

What if, even here, you should conceive to reply that communion is indeed denied to sinners, very especially such as had been "polluted by the flesh,"[1] but [only] for the present; to be restored, to wit, as the result of penitential suing: in accordance with that clemency of God which prefers a sinner's repentance to his death?[2]—for this fundamental ground of your opinion must be universally attacked. We say, accordingly, that if it had been competent to the Divine clemency to have guaranteed the demonstration of itself even to the post-baptismally lapsed, the apostle would have said thus: "Communicate not with the works of darkness, *unless they shall have repented;*" and, "With such take not food even, *unless after they shall have wiped, with rolling at their feet, the shoes of the brethren;*" and, "Him who shall have marred the temple of God, shall God mar, *unless he shall have shaken off from his head in the church the ashes of all hearths.*" For it had been his duty, in the case of those things which he had condemned, to have equally determined the extent to which he had (and that conditionally) condemned them,—whether he had condemned them with a temporary and conditional, and not a perpetual, severity. However, since in all epistles he both prohibits such a character, [so sinning] after believing, from being admitted [to the society of believers]; and, if admitted, detrudes him from communion, without hope of any condition or time; he sides more with *our* opinion, pointing out that the repentance which the Lord prefers is that which *before* believing, *before* baptism, is esteemed better than the death of the sinner,—[the sinner, I say,] once for all to be washed through the grace of Christ, who once for all has suffered death for our sins. For this [rule], even in his own person, the apostle has laid down. For, when affirming that Christ came for this end, that He might save sinners,[3] of whom himself had been the "first,"

[1] Comp. Jude 23 *ad fin.*

[2] Comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 11, etc.; and see cc. ii., x., xxii.

[3] See 1 Tim. i. 15.

what does he add? "And I obtained mercy, because I did [so] ignorantly in unbelief."[1] Thus that clemency of God, preferring the repentance of a sinner to his death, looks at such as are ignorant still, and still unbelieving, for the sake of whose liberation Christ came; not [at such] as already know God, and have learnt the sacrament of the faith. But if the clemency of God is applicable to such as are ignorant still, and unbelieving, of course it follows that repentance invites clemency to itself; without prejudice to that species of repentance *after* believing, which either, for lighter sins, will be able to obtain pardon from the bishop, or else, for greater and irremissible ones, from God only.[2]

Chap. xix.—*Objections from the Revelation and the first Epistle of St. John refuted.*

But how far [are we to treat] of Paul; since even John appears to give some secret countenance to the opposite side? as if in the Apocalypse he has manifestly assigned to fornication the auxiliary aid of repentance, where, to the angel of the Thyatirenes, the Spirit sends a message that He "hath against him that he kept [in communion] the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophet, and teacheth,[3] and seduceth my servants unto fornicating and eating of idol-sacrifices. And I gave her bounteously a space of time, that she might enter upon repentance; nor is she willing to enter upon it on the count of fornication. Behold, I will give her into a bed, and her adulterers with herself into greatest pressure, unless they shall have repented of her works."[4] I am content with the fact that, between apostles, there is a common agreement in rules of faith and of discipline. For, "Whether [it be] I," says [Paul], "or they, thus we preach."[5] Accordingly, it is material to the interest of the whole sacrament to believe nothing conceded by John, which has been flatly refused by Paul. This harmony of the Holy Spirit whoever observes, shall by Him be conducted into His

[1] 1 Tim. i. 16.
[2] See cc. iii. and xi., above.
[3] Or, "saith and teacheth that she is a prophet."
[4] Rev. ii. 18, 20–22.
[5] 1 Cor. xv. 11.

meanings. For [the angel of the Thyatirene church] was secretly introducing into the church, and urging justly to repentance, an heretical woman, who had taken upon herself to teach what she had learnt from the Nicolaitans. For who has a doubt that an heretic, deceived by [a spurious baptismal] rite, upon discovering his mischance, and expiating it by repentance, both attains pardon and is restored to the bosom of the church? Whence even among us, as being on a par with an heathen, nay even more than heathen, an heretic likewise, [such an one] is purged through the baptism of truth from each character,[1] and admitted [to the church]. Or else, if you are certain that that woman had, after a living faith, subsequently expired, and turned heretic, in order that you may claim pardon as the result of repentance, not as it were for an heretical, but as it were for a believing, sinner: let her, I grant, repent; but with the view of ceasing from adultery, not however in the prospect of restoration [to church-fellowship] as well. For this will be a repentance which we, too, acknowledge to be due much more [than you do]; but which we reserve, for pardon, to God.[2]

In short, this Apocalypse, in its later passages, has assigned "the infamous and fornicators," as well as "the cowardly, and unbelieving, and murderers, and sorcerers, and idolaters," who have been guilty of any such crime while professing the faith, to "the lake of fire,"[3] without any *conditional* condemnation. For it will not appear to savour of [a bearing upon] *heathens*, since it has [just] pronounced with regard to *believers*, "They who shall have conquered shall have this inheritance; and I will be to them a God, and they to me for sons;" and so has subjoined: "But to the cowardly, and unbelieving, and infamous, and fornicators, and murderers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, [shall be] a share in the lake of fire and sulphur, which [lake] is the second death." Thus, too, again: "Blessed they who act according to the precepts, that they may have power over the tree of life, and over the gates, for entering into the holy city. Dogs, sorcerers,

[1] *i.e.* of *heathen* and *heretic*.

[2] See the end of the foregoing chapter.

[3] Rev. xxi. 8.

fornicators, murderers, out!"[1]—of course, such as do *not* act according to the precepts; for *to be sent out* is the portion of those *who have been within*. Moreover, "What have I to do to judge them who are without?"[2] had preceded [the sentences now in question].

From the Epistle also of John they forthwith cull [a proof]. It is said: "The blood of His Son purifieth us utterly from every sin."[3] Always then, and in every form, we will sin, if always and from every sin He utterly purifies us; or else, if not *always*, not again after believing; and if not from sin, not again from fornication. But what is the point whence [John] has started? He had predicated "God" to be "Light," and that "darkness is not in Him," and that "we lie if we say that we have communion with Him, and walk in darkness."[4] "If, however," he says, "we walk in the light, we shall have communion with Him, and the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord purifieth us utterly from every sin."[5] Walking, then, in the light, do we sin? and, sinning in the light, shall we be utterly purified? By no means. For he who sins is not in the light, but in darkness. Whence, too, he points out the mode in which we shall be utterly purified from sin—[by] "walking in the light," in which sin cannot be committed. Accordingly, the sense in which he says we "are utterly purified" is, not in so far as we sin, but in so far as we do *not* sin. For, "walking in the light," but not having communion with darkness, we shall act as they that are "utterly purified;" sin not being quite laid down, but not being wittingly committed. For this is the virtue of the Lord's blood, that such as it has already purified from sin, and thenceforward has set "in the light," it renders thenceforward pure, if they shall continue to persevere walking in the light. "But he subjoins," you say, "'If we say that we have not sin, we are seducing ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, faithful and just is He to remit them to us, and utterly purify us from every unright-

[1] Rev. xxii. 14, 15. [2] 1 Cor. v. 12 *ad init.* [3] 1 John i. 7 *ad fin.*
[4] Vers. 5, 6. [5] Ver. 8, incorrectly.

eousness.'"[1] Does he say "from impurity?" [No]: or else, if that is so, then [He "utterly purifies" us] from "idolatry" too. But there is a difference in the sense. For see yet again: "If we say," he says, "that we have not sinned, we make Him a liar, and His word is not in us."[2] All the more fully: "Little children, these things have I written to you, lest ye sin; and if ye shall have sinned, an Advocate we have with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins."[3] "According to these words," you say, "it will be admitted both that we sin, and that we have pardon." What, then, will become [of your theory], when, proceeding [with the epistle], I find something different? For he affirms that *we do not sin at all;* and to this end he treats at large, that he may make no such concession; setting forth that sins have been once for all deleted by Christ, not subsequently to obtain pardon; in which statement the sense requires us [to apply the statement] to an admonition to *chastity.* "Every one," he says, "who hath this hope, maketh himself chaste, because He too is chaste. Every one who doeth sin, doeth withal iniquity;[4] and sin is iniquity.[5] And ye know that He hath been manifested to take away sins" —henceforth, of course, to be no more incurred, if it is true, [as it is,] that he subjoins, "Every one who abideth in Him sinneth not; every one who sinneth neither hath seen nor knoweth Him. Little children, let none seduce yon. Every one who doeth righteousness is righteous, as He withal is righteous. He who doeth sin is of the devil, inasmuch as the devil sinneth from the beginning. For unto this end was manifested the Son of God, to undo the works of the devil:" for He has "undone" them withal, by setting man free through baptism, the "handwriting of death" having been "made a gift of" to him:[6] and accordingly, "he who is being born of God doeth not sin, because the seed of God abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he hath been born of God. Herein are manifest the sons of God and the sons of the

[1] 1 John i. 8, 9. [2] 1 John i. 9. [3] 1 John ii. 1, 2.
[4] Iniquitatem = ἀνομίαν. [5] Iniquitas: ἀνομία = "lawlessness."
[6] See Col. ii. 13, 14.

devil."[1] *Where*in? except it be [thus]: the former by not sinning, from the time that they were born from God; the latter by sinning, because they are from the devil, just as if they never were born from God? But if he says, "He who is not *righteous* is not of God,"[2] how shall he who is not *modest* again become [a son] of God, who has already ceased to be so?

"It is therefore nearly equivalent to saying that John has forgotten himself; asserting, in the former part of his epistle, that we are not without sin, but now prescribing that we do not sin at all: and in the one case flattering us somewhat with hope of pardon, but in the other asserting with all stringency, that whoever may have sinned are no sons of God." But away with [the thought]: for not even we ourselves forget the distinction between sins, which was the starting-point of our digression. And [a right distinction it was]; for John has here sanctioned it; in that there are some sins of daily committal, to which we all are liable: for who will be free from the accident of either being angry unjustly, and retaining his anger beyond sunset;[3] or else even using manual violence; or else carelessly speaking evil; or else rashly swearing; or else forfeiting his plighted word; or else lying, from bashfulness or "necessity?" In businesses, in official duties, in trade, in food, in sight, in hearing, by how great temptations are we plied! So that, if there were no pardon for such sins as these, salvation would be unattainable to any. Of these, then, there will be pardon, through the successful Suppliant of the Father, Christ. But there are, too, the contraries of these; as the graver and destructive ones, such as are incapable of pardon — murder, idolatry, fraud, apostasy, blasphemy; [and], of course, too, adultery and fornication; and if there be any other "violation of the temple of God." For these Christ will no more be the successful Pleader: these will not at all be incurred by one who has been born of God, who will cease to be the son of God if he do incur them.

Thus John's rule of diversity will be established; arrang-

[1] 1 John iii. 3–10. [2] 1 John iii. 10. [3] Eph. iv. 26.

ing as he does a distinction of sins, while he now admits and now denies that the sons of God sin. For [in making these assertions] he was looking forward to the final clause of his letter, and for that [final clause] he was laying his preliminary bases; intending to say, in the end, more manifestly: "If any knoweth his brother to be sinning a sin not unto death, he shall make request, and the Lord shall give life to him who sinneth not unto death. For there is a sin unto death: not concerning that do I say that one should make request."[1] He, too, [as I have been], was mindful that Jeremiah had been prohibited by God to deprecate [Him] on behalf of a people which was committing mortal sins. "Every unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin unto death.[2] But we know that every one who hath been born of God sinneth not"[3]—to wit, the sin which is unto death. Thus there is no course left for you, but either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins; or else to confess them irremissible, for which it is not permitted even to make successful intercession.

Chap. xx.—*From apostolic teaching Tertullian turns to that of companions of the apostles, and of the Law.*

The discipline, therefore, of the apostles properly [so called], indeed, instructs and determinately directs, as a principal point, the overseer of all sanctity as regards the temple of God to the universal eradication of every sacrilegious outrage upon modesty, without any mention of restoration. I wish, however, redundantly to superadd the testimony likewise of one particular comrade of the apostles,—[a testimony] aptly suited for confirming, by most proximate right, the discipline of his masters. For there is extant withal an epistle to the Hebrews under the name of Barnabas—a man sufficiently accredited by God, as being one whom Paul has stationed next to himself in the uninterrupted observance of

[1] 1 John v. 16. But Tertullian has rendered αἰτεῖν and ἐρωτᾶν by the one word *postuiare*. See Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, pp. 169–173, ed. 4, 1858.

[2] So Oehler; but it appears that a "non" must have been omitted.

[3] Vers. 17, 18.

abstinence: "Or else, I alone and Barnabas, have not we the power of working?"[1] And, of course, the Epistle of Barnabas is more generally received among the churches than that apocryphal "Shepherd" of adulterers. Warning, accordingly, the disciples to omit all first principles, and strive rather after perfection, and not lay again the foundations of repentance from the works of the dead, he says: "For impossible it is that they who have once been illuminated, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have participated in the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the word of God and found it sweet, when they shall — their age already setting — have fallen away, should be again recalled unto repentance, crucifying again for themselves the Son of God, and dishonouring Him."[2] "For the earth which hath drunk the rain often descending upon it, and hath borne grass apt for them on whose account it is tilled withal, attaineth God's blessing; but if it bring forth thorns, it is reprobate, and nighest to cursing, whose end is [doomed] unto utter burning."[3] He who learnt this *from* apostles, and taught it *with* apostles, never knew of any "second repentance" promised by apostles to the adulterer and the fornicator.

For excellently was he wont to interpret the law, and keep its figures even in [the dispensation of] the Truth itself. It was with a reference, in short, to this species of discipline that the caution was taken in the case of the leper: "But if the speckled appearance shall have become efflorescent over the skin, and shall have covered the whole skin from the head even unto the feet through all the visible surface, then the priest, when he shall have seen, shall utterly cleanse him: since he hath wholly turned into white he is clean. But on the day that there shall have been seen in such an one quick colour, he is defiled."[4] [The Law] would have the man who is wholly turned from the pristine habit of the flesh to the whiteness of faith—which [faith] is esteemed a defect and blemish in [the eyes of] the world[5]—and is wholly made

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 6; but our copies read, τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι.
[2] Comp. Heb. vi. 1, 4–6.
[3] Vers. 7, 8.
[4] See Lev. xiii. 12–14 (in LXX.).
[5] Sæculo.

new, to be understood to be "clean;" as being no longer "speckled," no longer dappled with the pristine and the new [intermixt]. If, however, after the reversal [of the sentence of uncleanness], ought of the old nature shall have revived with its tendencies, that which was beginning to be thought utterly dead to sin in his flesh must again be judged unclean, and must no more be expiated by the priest. Thus adultery, sprouting again from the pristine stock, and wholly blemishing the unity of the new colour from which it had been excluded, is a defect that admits of no cleansing. Again, in the case of a house: if any spots and cavities in the party-walls had been reported to the priest, before he entered to inspect that house he bids all [its contents] be taken away from it; thus the belongings of the house would not be unclean. Then the priest, if, upon entering, he had found greenish or reddish cavities, and their appearance to the sight deeper down within the body of the party-wall, was to go out to the gate, and separate the house for a period within seven days. Then, upon returning on the seventh day, if he should have perceived the taint to have become diffused in the party-walls, he was to order those stones in which the taint of the leprosy had been to be extracted and cast away outside the city into an unclean place; and other stones, polished and sound, to be taken and replaced in the stead of the first, and the house to be plastered with other mortar.[1] For, in coming to the High Priest of the Father—Christ—all impediments must first be taken away, in the space of a week, that the house which remains, the flesh and the soul, may be clean; and when the Word of God has entered it, and has found "stains of red and green," forthwith must the deadly and sanguinary passions "be extracted" and "cast away" out of doors—for the Apocalypse withal has set "death" upon a "green horse," but a "warrior" upon a "red"[2]—and in their stead must be under-strewn stones polished and apt for conjunction, and firm,—such as are made [by God] into [sons] of Abraham,[3]—that thus the

[1] See Lev. xiv. 33–42. [2] See Rev. vi. 8, 4.
[3] Comp. Matt. iii. 9; Luke iii. 8.

man may be fit for God. But if, after the recovery and reformation, the priest again perceived in the same house ought of the pristine disorders and blemishes, he pronounced it unclean, and bade the timbers, and the stones, and all the structure of it, to be pulled down, and cast away into an unclean place.[1] This will be the man—flesh and soul—who, subsequently to reformation, after baptism and the entrance of the priests, again resumes the scabs and stains of the flesh, and "is cast away outside the city into an unclean place,"—"surrendered," to wit, "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh,"—and is no more rebuilt in the church after his ruin. So, too, with regard to lying with a female slave, who had been betrothed to an husband, but not yet redeemed, not yet set free: "provision," says [the Law], shall be made for her, and she shall not die, because she was not yet manumitted for him for whom she was being kept.[2] For flesh not yet manumitted to Christ, for whom it was being kept,[3] used to be contaminated with impunity: so now, after manumission, it no more receives pardon.

Chap. xxi.—*Of the difference between* discipline *and* power, *and of the power of the keys.*

If the apostles understood these [figurative meanings of the Law] better, of course they were more careful [with regard to them than even apostolic men]. But I will descend even to this point of contest now, making a separation between the *doctrine* of apostles and their *power*. Discipline governs a man, power sets a seal upon him; apart from the fact that power is the Spirit, but the Spirit is God. What, moreover, used [the Spirit] to teach? That there must be no communicating with the works of darkness.[4] Observe what He bids. Who, moreover, was able to forgive sins? This is His alone prerogative: for "who remitteth sins but God alone?"[5] and, of course, [who but He can remit] *mortal* sins, such as have been committed against

[1] Lev. xiv. 43–45.
[2] See Lev. xix. 20.
[3] Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2.
[4] Eph. v. 11. See ch. xviii. above.
[5] Mark ii. 7; Luke v. 21.

Himself,[1] and against His temple? For, as far as you are concerned, such as are chargeable with offence against you personally, you are commanded, in the person of Peter, to forgive even seventy times sevenfold.[2] And so, if it were agreed that even the blessed apostles had granted any such indulgence [to any crime] the pardon of which [comes] from God, not from man, it would be competent [for them] to have done so, not in the exercise of discipline, but of power. For they both raised the dead,[3] which God alone [can do], and restored the debilitated to their integrity,[4] which none but Christ [can do]; nay, they inflicted plagues too, which Christ would not do. For it did not beseem Him to be severe who had come to suffer. Smitten were both Ananias[5] and Elymas[6]—Ananias with death, Elymas with blindness—in order that by this very fact it might be proved that Christ had *had the power* of doing even *such* [miracles]. So, too, had the prophets [of old] granted to the repentant the *pardon* of murder, and therewith of adultery, inasmuch as they gave, at the same time, manifest proofs of *severity*.[7] Exhibit therefore even now to me,[8] apostolic sir, prophetic evidences, that I may recognise your divine virtue, and vindicate to yourself the *power* of remitting such sins! If, however, you have had the functions of *discipline* alone allotted you, and [the duty] of presiding not imperially, but ministerially;[9] who or how great are you, that you should grant indulgence, who, by exhibiting neither the prophetic nor the apostolic character, lack that virtue whose property it is to indulge?

"But," you say, "*the church* has the power of forgiving sins." This I acknowledge and adjudge more [than you; I] who have the Paraclete Himself in the persons of the

[1] Comp. Ps. li. 4 (in LXX. Ps. l. 6).
[2] Matt. xviii. 22.
[3] Comp. Acts ix. 36–43, xx. 9–12.
[4] Comp. Acts iii. 1–11, v. 13–16.
[5] Acts v. 1–6.
[6] Acts xiii. 6–12.
[7] Comp. 2 Sam. xii. 1–14, etc.
[8] Kaye suggests "apostolica et prophetica"—"apostolic and prophetic evidences;" which is very probable.
[9] Comp. 1 Pet. v. 1–4.

new prophets, saying, "The church has the power to forgive sins; but I will not do it, lest they commit others withal." "What if a pseudo-prophetic spirit has made that declaration?" Nay, but it would have been more the part of a subverter on the one hand to commend himself on the score of clemency, and on the other to influence all others to sin. Or if, again, [the pseudo-prophetic spirit] has been eager to affect this [sentiment] in accordance with "the Spirit of truth,"[1] it follows that "the Spirit of truth" has indeed the *power* of indulgently granting pardon to fornicators, but *wills* not to do it if it involve evil to the majority.

I now inquire into your opinion, [to see] from what source you usurp this right to "the church."

If, because the Lord has said to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my church,"[2] "to thee have I given the keys of the heavenly kingdom;"[3] or, "Whatsoever thou shalt have bound or loosed in earth, shall be bound or loosed in the heavens,"[4] you therefore presume that the power of binding and loosing has derived to you, that is, to every church akin to Peter, what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, conferring [as that intention did] this [gift] personally upon Peter? "*On thee*," He says, "will I build my church;" and, "I will give *to thee* the keys," not *to the church;* and, "Whatsoever *thou shalt have loosed or bound*," not what *they* shall have loosed or bound. For so withal the result teaches. In [Peter] himself the church was reared; that is, *through* [Peter] himself; [Peter] himself essayed the key; you see *what* [key]: "Men of Israel, let what I say sink into your ears: Jesus the Nazarene, a man destined by God for you," and so forth.[5] [Peter] himself, therefore, was the first to unbar, in Christ's baptism, the entrance to the heavenly kingdom, in which [kingdom] are "loosed" the sins that were beforetime "bound;" and those which have not been "loosed" are "bound," in accordance with true

[1] Comp. John xv. 26.
[2] Matt. xvi. 18.
[3] Matt. xvi. 19 *ad init.*, incorrectly.
[4] Matt. xvi. 19.
[5] Acts ii. 22 et seqq.

salvation; and Ananias he "bound" with the bond of death, and the weak in his feet he "absolved" from his defect of health. Moreover, in that dispute about the observance or non-observance of the law, Peter was the first of all to be endued with the Spirit, and, after making preface touching the calling of the nations, to say, "And now why are ye tempting the Lord, concerning the imposition upon the brethren of a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to support? But however, through the grace of Jesus we believe that we shall be saved in the same way as they."[1] This sentence both "loosed" those parts of the law which were abandoned, and "bound" those which were reserved. Hence the power of loosing and of binding committed to Peter had nothing to do with the capital sins of believers; and if the Lord had given him a precept that he must grant pardon to a brother sinning against *him* even "seventy times sevenfold," of course He would have commanded him to "bind"—that is, to "retain"[2]—*nothing* subsequently, unless perchance such [sins] as one may have committed against *the Lord*, not against a *brother*. For the forgiveness of [sins] committed in the case of a *man* is a prejudgment against the remission of sins against *God*.

What, now, [has this to do] with the church, and *your* [church], indeed, Psychic? For, in accordance with the person of Peter, it is to *spiritual* men that this power will correspondently appertain, either to an apostle or else to a prophet. For the very church itself is, properly and principally, the Spirit Himself, in whom is the Trinity of the One Divinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3] [The Spirit] combines that church which the Lord has made to consist in "three." And thus, from that time forward,[4] every number [of persons] who may have combined together into this faith is accounted "a church," from the Author and Consecrator [of the church]. And accordingly "the church," it is true, will forgive sins: but [it will be] the church of the Spirit, by means of a spiritual man; not the church which consists of

[1] See Acts xv. 7–11.
[2] Comp. John xx. 23.
[3] See *de Or.* c. ii.
[4] See Matt. xviii. 20.

a number of bishops. For the right and arbitrament is the Lord's, not the servant's; God's Himself, not the priest's.

CHAP. XXII.—*Of martyrs, and their intercession on behalf of scandalous offenders.*

But you go so far as to lavish this "power" upon martyrs withal! No sooner has any one, acting on a preconceived arrangement, put on the bonds—[bonds], moreover, which, in the nominal custody now in vogue,[1] are soft ones—than adulterers beset him, fornicators gain access to him; instantly prayers echo around him; instantly pools of tears [from the eyes] of all the polluted surround him; nor are there any who are more diligent in purchasing entrance into the prison than they who have lost [the fellowship of] the church! Men and women are violated in the darkness with which the habitual indulgence of lusts has plainly familiarized them; and they seek peace at the hands of those who are risking their own! Others betake them to the mines, and return, in the character of communicants, from thence, where by this time another "martyrdom" is necessary for sins committed *after* "martyrdom." "Well, who on earth and in the flesh is faultless?" What "martyr" [continues to be] an inhabitant of the world[2] supplicating? pence in hand? subject to physician and usurer? Suppose, now, [your "martyr"] beneath the glaive, with head already steadily poised; suppose him on the cross, with body already outstretched; suppose him at the stake, with the lion already let loose; suppose him on the axle, with the fire already heaped; in the very certainty, I say, and possession of martyrdom: who permits *man* to condone [offences] which are to be reserved for *God*, by whom those [offences] have been condemned without discharge, which not even apostles (so far as I know)—martyrs withal themselves—have judged condonable? In short, Paul had already "fought with beasts at Ephesus," when he decreed "destruction" to the incestuous person.[3] Let it suffice to the martyr to have purged his own sins: it is the part of ingratitude or of pride to lavish upon others also what

[1] Comp. *de Je.* c. xii. [2] *Sæculi.* [3] See 1 Cor. xv. 32.

one has obtained at a high price.[1] Who has redeemed another's death by his own, but the Son of God alone? For even in His very passion He set the robber free.[2] For to this end had He come, that, being Himself pure from sin,[3] and in all respects holy,[4] He might undergo death on behalf of sinners.[5] Similarly, you who emulate Him in condoning sins, if you yourself have done no sin, plainly suffer in my stead. If, however, you are a sinner, how will the oil of your puny torch be able to suffice for you and for me?[6]

I have, even now, a test whereby to prove [the presence of] Christ [in you]. If Christ is in the martyr for this reason, that the martyr may absolve adulterers and fornicators, let Him tell publicly the secrets of the heart, that He may thus concede [pardon to] sins; and He is Christ. For thus it was that the Lord Jesus Christ showed His power: "Why think ye evil in your hearts? For which is easier, to say to the paralytic, Thy sins are remitted thee; or, Rise and walk? Therefore, that ye may know the Son of man to have the power upon earth of remitting sins, I say to thee, paralytic, Rise, and walk."[7] If the Lord set so much store by the proof of His power as to reveal thoughts, and so impart health by His command, lest He should not be believed to have the power of remitting sins; it is not lawful for me to believe the same power [to reside] in any one, whoever he be, without the same proofs. In the act, however, of urgently entreating from a martyr pardon for adulterers and fornicators, you yourself confess that crimes of that nature are not to be washed away except by the martyrdom of the criminal himself, while you presume [they can be washed away] by another's. If this is so, then martyrdom will be another baptism. For "I have withal," saith He, "another baptism."[8] Whence, too, it was that there flowed out of the wound in the Lord's side water and blood, the materials of either baptism.[9]

[1] See Acts xxii. 28.
[2] Luke xxiii. 39–43.
[3] See 1 John iii. 5.
[4] See Heb. vii. 26–viii. 1.
[5] See 1 Pet. iii. 18.
[6] See Matt. xxv. 8, 9.
[7] See Mark ii. 9–11.
[8] Luke xii. 50.
[9] John xix. 33, 34.

I ought, then, by the *first* baptism too to [have the right of] setting another free if I can by the *second:* and we must necessarily force upon the mind [of our opponents this conclusion]: Whatever authority, whatever reason, restores ecclesiastical peace to the adulterer and fornicator, the same will be bound to come to the aid of the murderer and the idolater in their repentance,—at all events, of the apostate, and of course of him whom, in the battle of his confession, after hard struggling with torments, savagery has overthrown. Besides, it were unworthy of God and of His mercy, who prefers the repentance of a sinner to his death, that they should have easier return into [the bosom of] the church who have fallen in heat of passion, than they who have fallen in hand-to-hand combat.[1] Indignation urges us to speak. Contaminated bodies you will recall rather than gory ones! Which repentance is more pitiable—that which prostrates tickled flesh, or lacerated? Which pardon is, in all causes, more justly concessible — that which a voluntary, or that which an involuntary, sinner implores? No one is compelled *with* his will to apostatize; no one *against* his will commits fornication. Lust is exposed to no violence, except itself: it knows no coercion whatever. Apostasy, on the contrary, what ingenuities of butchery and tribes of penal inflictions enforce! Which has more truly apostatized—he who has lost Christ amid agonies, or [he who has done so] amid delights? he who when losing Him grieved, or he who when losing Him sported? And yet those scars graven on the Christian combatant—scars, of course, enviable in the eyes of Christ, because they yearned after conquest, and thus also glorious, because failing to conquer they yielded; [scars] after which even the devil himself yet sighs; [scars] with an infelicity of their own, but a chaste one, with a repentance that mourns, but blushes not, to the Lord for pardon—will anew be remitted to such, because their apostasy was expiable! In their case alone is the "flesh weak." Nay, no flesh so strong as that which crushes out the Spirit!

[1] Comp. *de Monog.* c. xv.

ON FASTING.

IN OPPOSITION TO THE PSYCHICS.

CHAP. I.—*Connection of gluttony and lust. Grounds of Psychical objections against the Montanists.*

I SHOULD wonder at the Psychics, if they were enthralled to voluptuousness alone, which leads them to repeated marriages, if they were not likewise bursting with gluttony, which leads them to hate fasts. Lust without voracity would certainly be considered a monstrous phenomenon; since these two are so united and concrete, that, had there been any possibility of disjoining them, the pudenda would not have been affixed to the belly itself rather than elsewhere. Look at the body: the region [of these members] is one and the same. In short, the order of the vices is proportionate to the arrangement of the members. First, the belly; and then immediately the materials of all other species of lasciviousness are laid subordinately to daintiness: through love of eating, love of impurity finds passage. I recognise, therefore, *animal*[1] faith by its care of the flesh (of which it wholly consists)—as prone to manifold feeding as to manifold marrying—so that it deservedly accuses the *spiritual* discipline, which according to its ability opposes it, in this species of continence as well; imposing, as it does, reins upon the appetite, through taking, sometimes no meals, or late meals, or dry meals, just as upon lust, through allowing but one marriage.

It is really irksome to engage with such: one is really

[1] *i.e.* Psychic.

ashamed to wrangle about subjects the very defence of which is offensive to modesty. For how am I to protect chastity and sobriety without taxing their adversaries? What those adversaries are I will once for all mention: they are the exterior and interior *botuli* of the Psychics. It is these which raise controversy with the Paraclete; it is on this account that the New Prophecies are rejected: not that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla preach another God, nor that they disjoin Jesus Christ [from God], nor that they overturn any particular rule of faith or hope, but that they plainly teach more frequent fasting than marrying. Concerning the limit of marrying, we have already published a defence of monogamy. Now our battle is the battle of the secondary (or rather the primary) continence, in regard of the chastisement of diet. They charge us with keeping fasts of our own; with prolonging our Stations generally into the evening; with observing xerophagies likewise, keeping our food unmoistened by any flesh, and by any juiciness, and by any kind of specially succulent fruit; and with not eating or drinking anything with a winey flavour; also with abstinence from the bath, congruent with our dry diet. They are therefore constantly reproaching us with NOVELTY; concerning the unlawfulness of which they lay down a prescriptive rule, that either it must be adjudged *heresy*, if [the point in dispute] is a human presumption; or else pronounced *pseudo-prophecy*, if it is a spiritual declaration; provided that, either way, we who reclaim hear [sentence of] anathema.

CHAP. II.—*Arguments of the Psychics, drawn from the Law, the Gospel, the Acts, the Epistles, and Heathenish Practices.*

For, so far as pertains to fasts, they oppose to us the definite days appointed by God: as when, in Leviticus, the Lord enjoins upon Moses the tenth day of the seventh month [as] a day of atonement, saying, "Holy shall be to you the day, and ye shall vex your souls; and every soul which shall not have been vexed in that day shall be exterminated from his

people."[1] At all events, in the Gospel they think that those days were definitely appointed for fasts in which "the Bridegroom was taken away;"[2] and that these are now the only legitimate days for Christian fasts, the legal and prophetical antiquities having been abolished: for wherever it suits their wishes, they recognise what is the meaning of "the Law and the prophets until John."[3] Accordingly, [they think] that, with regard to the future, fasting was to be indifferently observed, by the New Discipline, of choice, not of command, according to the times and needs of each individual: that this, withal, had been the observance of the apostles, imposing [as they did] no other yoke of definite fasts to be observed by all generally, nor similarly of Stations either, which [they think] have withal days of their own (the fourth and sixth days of the week), but yet take a wide range according to individual judgment, neither subject to the law of a given precept, nor [to be protracted] beyond the last hour of the day, since even prayers the ninth hour generally concludes, after Peter's example, which is recorded in the Acts. Xerophagies, however, [they consider] the novel name of a studied duty, and very much akin to heathenish superstition, like the abstemious rigours which purify an Apis, an Isis, and a Magna Mater, by a restriction laid upon certain kinds of food; whereas faith, free in Christ,[4] owes no abstinence from particular meats to the Jewish Law even, admitted as it has been by the apostle once for all to the whole range of the meat-market[5]—[the apostle, I say], that detester of such as, in like manner as they prohibit marrying, so bid us abstain from meats created by God.[6] And accordingly [they think] *us* to have been even then prenoted as "in the latest times departing from the faith, giving heed to spirits which seduce the world, having a conscience inburnt with doctrines of liars."[7] [Inburnt?]

[1] Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 26–29.
[2] Matt. ix. 14, 15; Mark ii. 18–20; Luke v. 33–35.
[3] Luke xvi. 16; Matt. xi. 13.
[4] Comp. Gal. v. 1.
[5] Comp. 1 Cor. x. 25.
[6] Comp. 1 Tim. iv. 3.
[7] So Oehler punctuates. The reference is to 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2.

With what fires, prithee? The fires, I ween, which lead us to repeated contracting of nuptials and daily cooking of dinners! Thus, too, they affirm that we share with the Galatians the piercing rebuke [of the apostle], as "observers of days, and of months, and of years."[1] Meantime they hurl in our teeth the fact that Isaiah withal has authoritatively declared, "Not such a fast hath the Lord elected," that is, not abstinence from food, but the works of righteousness, which he there appends:[2] and that the Lord Himself in the Gospel has given a compendious answer to every kind of scrupulousness in regard to food; "that not by such things as are introduced into the mouth is a man defiled, but by such as are produced out of the mouth;"[3] while Himself withal was wont to eat and drink till He made Himself noted thus; "Behold, a gormandizer and a drinker:"[4] [finally], that so, too, does the apostle teach that "food commendeth us not to God; since we neither abound if we eat, nor lack if we eat not."[5]

By the instrumentalities of these and similar passages, they subtlely tend at last to such a point, that every one who is somewhat prone to appetite finds it possible to regard as superfluous, and not so very necessary, the duties of abstinence from, or diminution or delay of, food, since "God," forsooth, "prefers the works of justice and of innocence." And we know the quality of the hortatory addresses of carnal conveniences, how easy it is to say, "I must believe with my whole heart;[6] I must love God, and my neighbour as myself:[7] for 'on these two precepts the whole Law hangeth, and the prophets,' not on the emptiness of my lungs and intestines."

Chap. III.—*The principle of fasting traced back to its earliest source.*

Accordingly we are bound to affirm, before proceeding

[1] See Gal. iv. 10; the words καὶ καιρούς Tertullian omits.
[2] See Isa. lviii. 3–7.
[3] See Matt. xv. 11; Mark vii. 15.
[4] Matt. xi. 19; Luke vii. 34.
[5] 1 Cor. viii. 8.
[6] Rom. x. 10.
[7] Comp. Matt. xxii. 37–40, and the parallel passages.

further, this [principle], which is in danger of being secretly subverted; [namely], of what value in the sight of God this "emptiness" you speak of is: and, first of all, whence has proceeded the rationale itself of earning the favour of God in this way. For the necessity of the observance will then be acknowledged, when the authority of a rationale, to be dated back from the very beginning, shall have shone out to view.

Adam had received from God the law of not tasting "of the tree of recognition of good and evil," with the doom of death to ensue upon tasting.[1] However, even [Adam] himself at that time, reverting to the condition of a Psychic after the spiritual ecstasy in which he had prophetically interpreted that "great sacrament"[2] with reference to Christ and the church, and no longer being "capable of the things which were the spirit's,"[3] yielded more readily to his belly than to God, heeded the meat rather than the mandate, and sold salvation for his gullet! He ate, in short, and perished; saved [as he would] else [have been], if he had preferred to fast from one little tree: so that, even from this early date, *animal faith* may recognise its own seed, deducing from thence onward its appetite for carnalities and rejection of spiritualities. I hold, therefore, that from the very beginning the murderous gullet was to be punished with the torments and penalties of hunger. Even if God had enjoined no preceptive fasts, still, by pointing out the source whence Adam was slain, He who had demonstrated the offence had left to my intelligence the remedies for the offence. Unbidden, I would, in such ways and at such times as I might have been able, have habitually accounted food as poison, and taken the antidote, hunger; through which to purge the primordial cause of death—a cause transmitted to me also, concurrently with my very generation; certain that God willed that whereof He nilled the contrary, and confident enough that the care of continence will be pleasing to Him by whom I should have understood that the crime of *in*con-

[1] See Gen. ii. 16, 17. [2] Comp. Eph. v. 32 with Gen. ii. 23, 24.
[3] See 1 Cor. ii. 14.

tinence had been condemned. Further: since He Himself both commands fasting, and calls "a soul[1] wholly shattered" —properly, of course, by straits of diet—"a sacrifice;" who will any longer doubt that of all dietary macerations the rationale has been this, that by a renewed interdiction of food and observation of precept the primordial sin might now be expiated, in order that man may make God satisfaction through the selfsame causative material through which he had offended, that is, through interdiction of food; and thus, in emulous wise, hunger might rekindle, just as satiety had extinguished, salvation, contemning for the sake of one *un*lawful more lawful [gratifications]?

CHAP. IV.—*The objection is raised, Why, then, was the limit of lawful food* EXTENDED *after the flood? The answer to it.*

This rationale was constantly kept in the eye of the providence of God—modulating all things, as He does, to suit the exigencies of the times—lest any from the opposite side, with the view of demolishing our proposition, should say: "Why, in that case, did not God forthwith institute some definite restriction upon food? nay, rather, why did He withal enlarge His permission? For, at the beginning indeed, it had only been the food of herbs and trees which He had assigned to man: 'Behold, I have given you all grass fit for sowing, seeding seed, which is upon the earth; and every tree which hath in itself the fruit of seed fit for sowing shall be to you for food.'[2] Afterwards, however, after enumerating to Noah the subjection [to him] of 'all beasts of the earth, and fowls of the heaven, and things moving on earth, and the fish of the sea, and every creeping thing,' He says, 'They shall be to you for food: just like grassy vegetables have I given [them] you universally: but flesh in the blood of its own soul shall ye not eat.'[3] For even by this very fact, that He exempts from eating that flesh only the 'soul' of which is not out-shed through

[1] The reference is to Ps. li. 17 (in LXX. Ps. l. 19).
[2] Gen. i. 29. [3] See Gen. ix. 2-5 (in LXX.).

'blood,' it is manifest that He has conceded the use of all other flesh." To this we reply, that it was not suitable for man to be burdened with any further special law of abstinence, who so recently showed himself unable to tolerate so light an interdiction—of one single fruit, to wit; that, accordingly, having had the rein relaxed, he was to be strengthened by his very liberty; that equally after the deluge, in the *re*formation of the human race, [as before it], *one* law — of abstaining from blood — was sufficient, the use of all things else being allowed. For the Lord had already shown His judgment through the deluge; had, moreover, likewise issued a comminatory warning through the "requisition of blood from the hand of a brother, and from the hand of every beast."[1] And thus, preministering the justice of judgment, He issued the materials of liberty; preparing through allowance an undergrowth of discipline; permitting all things, with a view to take some away; meaning to "exact more" if He had "committed more;"[2] to command abstinence since He had foresent indulgence: in order that (as we have said) the primordial sin might be the more expiated by the operation of a greater abstinence in the [midst of the] opportunity of a greater licence.

CHAP. V.—*Proceeding to the history of Israel, Tertullian shows that appetite was as conspicuous among their sins as in Adam's case. Therefore the restraints of the Levitical law were imposed.*

At length, when a familiar people began to be chosen by God to Himself, and the restoration of man was able to be essayed, then all the laws and disciplines were imposed, even such as curtailed food; certain things being prohibited as unclean, in order that man, by observing a perpetual abstinence in certain particulars, might at last the more easily tolerate absolute fasts. For the first People had withal reproduced the first man's crime, being found more prone to their belly than to God, when, plucked out from the harshness of Egyptian servitude "by the mighty hand

[1] See Gen. ix. 5, 6. [2] See Luke xii. 48.

and sublime arm"[1] of God, they were seen to be its lord, destined to the "land flowing with milk and honey;"[2] but forthwith, stumbled at the surrounding spectacle of an incopious desert, sighing after the lost enjoyments of Egyptian satiety, they murmured against Moses and Aaron: "Would that we had been smitten to the heart by the Lord, and perished in the land of Egypt, when we were wont to sit over our jars of flesh and eat bread unto the full! How leddest thou us out into these deserts, to kill this assembly by famine?"[3] From the selfsame belly-preference were they destined [at last] to deplore[4] [the fate of] the selfsame leaders of their own and eye-witnesses of [the power of] God, whom, by their regretful hankering after flesh, and their recollection of their Egyptian plenties, they were ever exacerbating: "Who shall feed us with flesh? there have come into our mind the fish which in Egypt we were wont to eat freely, and the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic. But now our soul is arid: nought save manna do our eyes see!"[5] Thus used they, too, [like the Psychics], to find the angelic bread[6] of xerophagy displeasing: they preferred the fragrance of garlic and onion to that of heaven. And therefore from men so ungrateful all that was more pleasing and appetizing was withdrawn, for the sake at once of punishing gluttony and exercising continence, that the former might be condemned, the latter practically learned.

Chap. vi.—*The physical tendencies of fasting and feeding considered. The cases of Moses and Elijah.*

Now, if there has been temerity in our retracing to primordial experiences the reasons for God's having laid, and our duty (for the sake of God) to lay, restrictions upon food, let us consult common conscience. Nature herself will plainly tell with what qualities she is ever wont to find us endowed when

[1] Comp. Ps. cxxxvi. 12 (in LXX. cxxxv. 12).
[2] See Ex. iii. 8.
[3] See Ex. xvi. 1–3.
[4] Comp. Num. xx. 1–12 with Ps. cvi. 31–33 (in LXX. cv. 31–33).
[5] See Num. xi. 1-6.
[6] See Ps. lxxviii. 25 (in LXX. lxxvii. 25).

she sets us, *before* taking food and drink, with our saliva still in a virgin state, to the transaction of matters, by the sense especially whereby things divine are handled; whether [it be not] with a mind much more vigorous, with a heart much more alive, than when that whole habitation of our interior man, stuffed with meats, inundated with wines, fermenting for the purpose of excremental secretion, is already being turned into a premeditatory of privies, [a premeditatory] where, plainly, nothing is so proximately supersequent as the savouring of lasciviousness. "The People did eat and drink, and they arose to play."[1] Understand the modest language of Holy Scripture: "play," unless it had been immodest, it would not have reprehended. On the other hand, how many are there who are mindful of religion, when the seats of the memory are occupied, the limbs of wisdom impeded? No one will suitably, fitly, usefully, remember God at that time when it is customary for a man to forget his own self. All discipline food either slays or else wounds. I am a liar, if the Lord Himself, when upbraiding Israel with forgetfulness, does not impute the cause to "fulness:" "[My] beloved is waxen thick, and fat, and distent, and hath quite forsaken God, who made him, and hath gone away from the Lord his Saviour."[2] In short, in the selfsame Deuteronomy, when bidding precaution to be taken against the selfsame cause, He says: "Lest, when thou shalt have eaten, and drunken, and built excellent houses, thy sheep and oxen being multiplied, and [thy] silver and gold, thy heart be elated, and thou be forgetful of the Lord thy God."[3] To the corrupting power of riches He made the enormity of edacity antecedent, for which riches themselves are the procuring agents.[4] Through them, to wit, had "the heart of the People been made thick, lest they should see with the eyes, and hear with the ears, and understand with a heart"[5]

[1] Comp. 1 Cor. x. 7 with Ex. xxxii. 6. [2] See Deut. xxxii. 15.

[3] See Deut. viii. 12–14.

[4] Comp. Eccles. vi. 7; Prov. xvi. 26. (The LXX. render the latter quotation very differently from the Eng. ver. or the Vulg.)

[5] See Isa. vi. 10; John xii. 40; Acts xxviii. 26, 27.

obstructed by the "fats" of which He had expressly forbidden the eating,[1] teaching man not to be studious of the stomach.[2]

On the other hand, he whose "heart" was habitually found "lifted up"[3] rather than fattened up, who in forty days and as many nights maintained a fast above the power of human nature, while spiritual faith subministered strength [to his body],[4] both saw with his eyes God's glory, and heard with his ears God's voice, and understood with his heart God's law: while He taught him even then [by experience] that man liveth not upon bread alone, but upon every word of God; in that the People, though fatter than he, could not constantly contemplate even Moses himself, fed as he had been upon God, nor his leanness, sated as it had been with His glory![5] Deservedly, therefore, even while in the flesh, did the Lord show Himself to him, the colleague of His own fasts, no less than to Elijah.[6] For Elijah withal had, by this fact primarily, that he had imprecated a famine,[7] already sufficiently devoted himself to fasts: "The Lord liveth," he said, "before whom I am standing in His sight, if there shall be dew in these years, and rain-shower."[8] Subsequently, fleeing from threatening Jezebel, after one single [meal of] food and drink, which he had found on being awakened by an angel, he too himself, in a space of forty days and nights, his belly empty, his mouth dry, arrived at Mount Horeb; where, when he had made a cave his inn, with how familiar a meeting with God was he received![9] "What [doest] thou, Elijah, here?"[10] Much more friendly was this voice than, "Adam, where art thou?"[11] For the latter voice was uttering a threat to a fed man, the former soothing a fasting one. Such is the prerogative of circumscribed food, that it makes

[1] See Lev. iii. 17. [2] See Deut. viii. 3; Matt. iv. 4; Luke iv. 4.
[3] See Ps. lxxxvi. 4 (in LXX. lxxxv. 4); Lam. iii. 41 (in LXX. iii. 40).
[4] Twice over. See Ex. xxiv. 18 and xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 11, 25.
[5] See Ex. xxxiii. 18, 19, with xxxiv. 4–9, 29–35.
[6] See Matt. xvii. 1–13; Mark ix. 1–13; Luke ix. 28–36.
[7] See Jas. v. 17. [8] See 1 Kings xvii. 1 (in LXX. 3 Kings *ib.*).
[9] See 1 Kings xix. 1–8. But he took *two* meals: see vers. 6, 7, 8.
[10] Vers. 9, 13. [11] Gen. iii. 9 (in LXX.).

God tent-fellow[1] with man—peer, in truth, with peer! For if the eternal God will not hunger, as He testifies through Isaiah,[2] this will be the time for man to be made equal with God, when he lives without food.

Chap. vii.—*Further examples from the Old Testament in favour of fasting.*

And thus we have already proceeded to examples, in order that, by its profitable efficacy, we may unfold the powers of this duty which reconciles God, even when angered, to man.

Israel, before their gathering together by Samuel on occasion of the drawing of water at Mizpeh, had sinned; but so immediately do they wash away the sin by a fast, that the peril of battle is dispersed by them simultaneously [with the water on the ground]. At the very moment when Samuel was offering the holocaust (in no way do we learn that the clemency of God was more procured than by the *abstinence* of the people), and the aliens were advancing to battle, then and there "the Lord thundered with a mighty voice upon the aliens, and they were thrown into confusion, and fell in a mass in the sight of Israel; and the men of Israel went forth out of Mizpeh, and pursued the aliens, and smote them unto Bethor,"—the unfed [chasing] the fed, the unarmed the armed. Such will be the strength of them who "fast to God."[3] For such, Heaven fights. You have [before you] a condition upon which [divine] defence will be granted, necessary even to spiritual wars.

Similarly, when the king of the Assyrians, Sennacherib, after already taking several cities, was volleying blasphemies and menaces against Israel through Rabshakeh, nothing else [but fasting] diverted him from his purpose, and sent him into the Ethiopias. After that, what else swept away by the hand of the angel an hundred eighty and four thousand from his army than Hezekiah the king's humiliation? if it is true, [as it is], that on hearing the announcement of the harshness of the foe, he rent his garment, put on sackcloth,

[1] Comp. Matt. xvii. 4; Mark ix. 5; Luke ix. 33.

[2] See Ps. xl. 28 in LXX. In E.V., "fainteth not." [3] See Zech. vii. 5.

and bade the elders of the priests, similarly habited, approach God through Isaiah—fasting being, of course, the escorting attendant of their prayers.[1] For peril has no time for food, nor sackcloth any care for satiety's refinements. Hunger is ever the attendant of mourning, just as gladness is an accessory of fulness.

Through this attendant of mourning, and [this] hunger, even that sinful state, Nineveh, is freed from the predicted ruin. For repentance for sins had sufficiently commended the fast, keeping it up in a space of three days, starving out even the cattle with which God was not angry.[2] Sodom also, and Gomorrah, would have escaped if they had fasted.[3] This remedy even Ahab acknowledges. When, after his transgression and idolatry, and the slaughter of Naboth, slain by Jezebel on account of his vineyard, Elijah had upbraided him, "How hast thou killed, and possessed the inheritance? In the place where dogs had licked up the blood of Naboth, thine also shall they lick up,"—he "abandoned himself, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and slept in sackcloth. And then [came] the word of the Lord unto Elijah, Thou hast seen how Ahab hath shrunk in awe from my face: for that he hath shrunk in awe I will not bring the hurt upon [him] in his own days; but in the days of his son I will bring it upon [him]"—[his son], who was not to fast.[4] Thus a Godward fast is a work of reverential awe: and by its means also Hannah the wife of Elkanah making suit, barren as she had been beforetime, easily obtained from God the filling of her belly, empty of food, with a son, ay, and a prophet.[5]

Nor is it merely change of nature, or aversion of perils, or obliteration of sins, but likewise the recognition of mysteries, which fasts will merit from God. Look at Daniel's example. About the dream of the king of Babylon all the sophists are troubled: they affirm that, without external aid, it cannot be

[1] See 2 Kings xviii. xix.; 2 Chron. xxxii.; Isa. xxxvi. xxxvii.
[2] See Jonah iii. Comp. *de Pa.* c. x.
[3] See Ezek. xvi. 49; Matt. xi. 23, 24; Luke x. 12–14.
[4] See 1 Kings xxi. (in the LXX. it is 3 Kings xx.).
[5] See 1 Sam. i. 1, 2, 7–20, iii. 20 (in LXX. 1 Kings).

discovered by human skill. Daniel alone, trusting to God, and knowing what would tend to the deserving of God's favour, requires a space of three days, fasts with his fraternity, and — his prayers thus commended — is instructed throughout as to the order and signification of the dream; quarter is granted to the tyrant's sophists; God is glorified; Daniel is honoured; destined as he was to receive, even subsequently also, no less a favour of God in the first year of King Darius, when, after careful and repeated meditation upon the times predicted by Jeremiah, he set his face to God in fasts, and sackcloth, and ashes. For the angel, withal, sent to him, immediately professed this to be the cause of the Divine approbation: "I am come," he said, "to demonstrate to thee, since thou art pitiable"[1]—by fasting, to wit. If to God he was "pitiable," to the lions in the den he was formidable, where, six days fasting, he had breakfast provided him by an angel.[2]

CHAP. VIII.—*Examples of a similar kind from the New.*

We produce, too, our remaining [evidences]. For we now hasten to modern proofs.

On the threshold of the Gospel,[3] Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, "who both recognised the infant Lord, and preached many things about Him to such as were expecting the redemption of Israel," after the pre-eminent distinction of long-continued and single-husbanded widowhood, is additionally graced with the testimony of "fastings" also; pointing out, as she does, what the duties are which should characterize attendants of the church, and [pointing out, too, the fact] that Christ is understood by none more than by the once married and often fasting.

[1] Dan. ix. 23, x. 11.

[2] See Bel and the Dragon (in LXX.) vers. 31–39. "Pitiable" appears to be Tertullian's rendering of what in the E. V. is rendered "greatly beloved." Rig. (in Oehler) renders: "of how great compassion thou hast attained the favour;" but surely that overlooks the fact that the Latin is "*miserabilis es*," not "*sis*."

[3] See Luke ii. 36–38. See *de Monog.* c. viii.

By and by the Lord Himself consecrated His own baptism (and, in His own, that of all) by fasts;[1] having [the power] to make "loaves out of stones,"[2] ay, to make Jordan flow with wine perchance, if He had been such a "glutton and toper."[3] Nay, rather, by the virtue of contemning food He was initiating "the new man" into "a severe handling" of "the old,"[4] that He might show that [new man] to the devil, again seeking to tempt him by means of *food*, [to be] too strong for the whole power of hunger.

Thereafter He prescribed to fasts a law—that they are to be performed "without sadness:"[5] for why should what is salutary be sad? He taught likewise that fasts are to be the weapons for battling with the more direful demons:[6] for what wonder if the same operation is the instrument of the iniquitous spirit's egress as of the Holy Spirit's ingress? Finally, granting that upon the centurion Cornelius, even *before baptism*, the honourable gift of the Holy Spirit, together with the gift of prophecy besides, had hastened to descend, we see that *his fasts* had been heard.[7] I think, moreover, that the apostle too, in the Second of Corinthians, among his labours, and perils, and hardships, after "hunger and thirst," enumerates "fasts" also "very many."[8]

Chap. ix.—*From* fasts absolute [jejunia] *Tertullian comes to partial ones and xerophagies.*

This principal species in the category of dietary restriction may already afford a prejudgment concerning the inferior operations of abstinence also, as being themselves too, in proportion to their measure, useful or necessary. For the exception of certain kinds from use of food is a partial fast. Let us therefore look into the question of the novelty or vanity of

[1] Matt. iv. 12; Luke iv. 1, 2; comp. *de Bapt.* c. xx.

[2] See Matt. iv. 3; Luke iv. 3. [3] See c. ii.

[4] Comp. Eph. iv. 22, 23; and, for the meaning of *sugillationem* ("severe handling"), comp. 1 Cor. ix. 27, where St. Paul's word ὑπωπιάζω (= "I smite under the eye," Eng. ver. "I keep under") is perhaps exactly equivalent in meaning.

[5] Matt. vi. 16–18. [6] See Matt. xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29.

[7] See Acts x. 44–46, 1–4, and 30. [8] 2 Cor. xi. 27.

xerophagies, to see whether in them too we do not find an operation alike of most ancient as of most efficacious religion.

I return to Daniel and his brethren, preferring as they did a diet of vegetables and the beverage of water to the royal dishes and decanters, and being found as they were therefore "more handsome" (lest any be apprehensive on the score of his paltry body, to boot!), besides being spiritually cultured into the bargain.[1] For God gave to the young men knowledge and understanding in every kind of literature, and to Daniel in every word, and in dreams, and in every kind of wisdom; which [wisdom] was to make him wise in this very thing also,—namely, by what means the recognition of mysteries was to be obtained from God. Finally, in the third year of Cyrus king of the Persians, when he had fallen into careful and repeated meditation on a vision, he provided another form of humiliation. "In those days," he says, "I Daniel was mourning during three weeks: pleasant bread I ate not; flesh and wine entered not into my mouth; with oil I was not anointed; until three weeks were consummated:" which being elapsed, an angel was sent out [from God], addressing him on this wise: "Daniel, thou art a man pitiable; fear not: since, from the first day on which thou gavest thy soul to recogitation and to humiliation before God, thy word hath been heard, and I am entered at thy word."[2] Thus the "pitiable" spectacle and the humiliation of xerophagies expel fear, and attract the ears of God, and make men masters of secrets.

I return likewise to Elijah. When the ravens had been wont to satisfy him with "bread and *flesh*,"[3] why was it that afterwards, at Beersheba of Judea, that certain angel, after rousing him from sleep, offered him, beyond doubt, bread *alone*, and water?[4] Had ravens been wanting, to feed him more liberally? or had it been difficult to the "angel" to carry away from some part of the banquet-room of the king some attendant with his amply-furnished waiter, and transfer

[1] Dan. i. [2] See Dan. x. 1-3, 5, 12.
[3] See 1 Kings xvii. (in LXX. 3 Kings xvii.) 1-6.
[4] 1 Kings xix. 3-7.

him to Elijah, just as the breakfast of the reapers was carried into the den of lions and presented to Daniel in his hunger? But it behoved that an example should be set, teaching us that, at a time of pressure and persecution and whatsoever difficulty, we must live on xerophagies. With such food did David express his own exomologesis; "eating ashes indeed as it were bread," that is, bread dry and foul like ashes: "mingling, moreover, his drink with weeping"—of course, instead of wine.[1] For *abstinence from wine* withal has honourable badges of its own: [an abstinence] which had dedicated Samuel, and consecrated Aaron, to God. For of Samuel his mother said: "And wine and that which is intoxicating shall he not drink:"[2] for such was her condition withal when praying to God.[3] And the Lord said to Aaron: "Wine and spirituous liquor shall ye not drink, thou and thy son after thee, whenever ye shall enter the tabernacle, or ascend unto the sacrificial altar; and ye shall not die."[4] So true is it, that such as shall have ministered in the church, being not sober, shall "die." Thus, too, in recent times He upbraids Israel: "And ye used to give my sanctified ones wine to drink." And, moreover, this limitation upon drink is the portion of xerophagy. Anyhow, wherever abstinence from wine is either exacted by God or vowed by man, there let there be understood likewise a restriction of *food* forefurnishing a formal type to *drink*. For the quality of the drink is correspondent to that of the eating. It is not probable that a man should sacrifice to God *half* his appetite; temperate in waters, and intemperate in meats. Whether, moreover, the apostle had any acquaintance with xerophagies —[the apostle] who had repeatedly practised greater rigours, "hunger, and thirst, and fasts many," who had forbidden "drunkennesses and revellings"[5] — we have a sufficient evidence even from the case of his disciple Timotheus; whom when he admonishes, "for the sake of his stomach and constant weaknesses," to use "a little wine,"[6] from which he was ab-

[1] See Ps. cii. (in LXX. ci.) 10.
[2] 1 Sam. (in LXX. 1 Kings) i. 11.
[3] 1 Sam. i. 15.
[4] See Lev. x. 9.
[5] See Rom. xiii. 13.
[6] 1 Tim. v. 23.

staining not from rule, but from devotion—else the custom would rather have been beneficial to his stomach—by this very fact he has advised abstinence from wine as "worthy of God," which, on a ground of *necessity*, he has *dis*suaded.

CHAP. X.—*Of Stations, and of the hours of prayer.*

In like manner they censure on the count of novelty our Stations as being *enjoined;* some, moreover, [censure them] too as being prolonged habitually too late, saying that this duty also ought to be observed of free choice, and not continued beyond the ninth hour,—[deriving their rule], of course, from their own practice. Well: as to that which pertains to the question of *injunction*, I will once for all give a reply to suit all causes. Now, [turning] to the point which is proper to this particular cause—concerning the limit of time, I mean—I must first demand from themselves whence they derive this prescriptive law for concluding Stations at the ninth hour. If it is from the fact that we read that Peter and he who was with him entered the temple "at the ninth [hour], the hour of prayer," who will prove to me that they had that day been performing a Station, so as to interpret the ninth hour as the hour for the conclusion and discharge of the Station? Nay, but you would more easily find that Peter at the *sixth* hour had, for the sake of taking food, gone up first on the roof to pray;[1] so that the *sixth* hour of the day may the rather be made the limit to this duty, which [in Peter's case] was apparently to finish that duty, after prayer. Further: since in the selfsame commentary of Luke the *third* hour is demonstrated as an hour of prayer, about which hour it was that they who had received the initiatory gift of the Holy Spirit were held for drunkards;[2] and the *sixth*, at which Peter went up on the roof; and the *ninth*, at which they entered the temple: why should we not understand that, with absolutely perfect indifference, we must pray[3] always, and everywhere, and at every time;

[1] See Acts x. 9. [2] Acts ii. 1–4, 13, 15.

[3] The reference is to Eph. vi. 18; Col. iv. 2; 1 Thess. v. 17; Luke xviii. 1.

yet still that these three hours, as being more marked in things human—[hours] which divide the day, which distinguish businesses, which re-echo in the public ear—have likewise ever been of special solemnity in divine prayers? A persuasion which is sanctioned also by the corroborative fact of Daniel praying thrice in the day;[1] of course, through exception of certain stated hours, no other, moreover, than the more marked and subsequently apostolic [hours]—the third, the sixth, the ninth. And hence, accordingly, I shall affirm that Peter too had been led rather by ancient usage to the observance of the ninth hour, praying at the third specific interval, [the interval] of final prayer.

These [arguments], moreover, [we have advanced] for their sakes who think that they are acting in conformity with Peter's model, [a model] of which they are ignorant: not as if we slighted the ninth hour, [an hour] which, on the fourth and sixth days of the week, we most highly honour; but because, of those things which are observed on the ground of tradition, we are bound to adduce so much the more worthy reason, that they lack the authority of Scripture, until by some signal celestial gift they be either confirmed or else corrected. "And if," says [the apostle], "there are matters which ye are ignorant about, the Lord will reveal to you."[2] Accordingly, setting out of the question the confirmer of all such things, the Paraclete, the guide of universal truth,[3] inquire whether there be not a worthier reason adduced among *us* for the observing of the ninth hour; so that this reason [of ours] must be attributed even to Peter if he observed a Station at the time in question. For [the practice] comes from the death of the Lord; which death albeit it behoves to be commemorated always, without difference of hours; yet are we at that time more impressively commended to its commemoration, according to the actual [meaning of the] name of Station. For even soldiers, though never unmindful of their military oath, yet pay a greater deference to Stations. And so the "pressure" must be maintained up to that hour in which the orb — involved from the sixth

[1] See Dan. vi. 10. [2] See Phil. iii. 15. [3] John xiv. 26, xvi. 13.

hour in a general darkness—performed for its dead Lord a sorrowful act of duty; so that we too may then return to enjoyment when the universe regained its sunshine.[1] If this savours more of the spirit of Christian religion, while it celebrates more the glory of Christ, I am equally able, from the selfsame order of events, to fix the condition of *late protraction of the Station;* [namely], that we are to fast till a late hour, awaiting the time of the Lord's sepulture, when Joseph took down and entombed the body which he had requested. Thence [it follows] that it is even irreligious for the flesh of the servants to take refreshment before their Lord did.

But let it suffice to have thus far joined issue on the *argumentative* challenge; rebutting, as I have done, conjectures by conjectures, and yet (as I think) by conjectures more worthy of a believer. Let us see whether any such [principle] drawn from the ancient times takes us under its patronage.

In Exodus, was not that position of Moses, battling against Amalek by prayers, maintained as it was perseveringly even till "sunset," a "late Station?"[2] Think we that Joshua the son of Nun, when warring down the Amorites, had breakfasted on that day on which he ordered the very elements to keep a Station?[3] The sun "stood" in Gibeon, and the moon in Ajalon; the sun and the moon "stood in station until the People was avenged of his enemies, and the sun stood in the mid heaven." When, moreover, [the sun] did draw toward his setting and the end of the one day, there was no such day beforetime and in the latest time (of course, [no day] so *long*), "that God," says [the writer], "should hear a man"—[a man,] to be sure, the sun's peer, so long persistent in his duty—a Station longer even than *late.*

At all events, Saul himself, when engaged in battle, manifestly *enjoined* this duty: "Cursed [be] the man who shall have eaten bread until evening, until I avenge me on mine enemy;" and his whole people tasted not [food], and [yet] the whole earth was breakfasting! So solemn a sanction, moreover, did God confer on the edict which enjoined that Station,

[1] See Matt. xxvii. 45–54; Mark xvi. 33–39; Luke xxiii. 44–47.
[2] See Ex. xvii. 8–12. [3] See Josh. x. 12–14.

that Jonathan the son of Saul, although it had been in ignorance of the fast having been appointed till a late hour that he had allowed himself a taste of honey, was both presently convicted, by lot, of sin, and with difficulty exempted from punishment through the prayer of the People:[1] for he had been convicted of gluttony, although of a simple kind. But withal Daniel, in the first year of King Darius, when, fasting in sackcloth and ashes, he was doing exomologesis to God, said: "And while I was still speaking in prayer, behold, the man whom I had seen in dreams at the beginning, swiftly flying, approached me, as it were, at the hour of the evening sacrifice."[2] This will be a "late" Station which, fasting *until the evening*, sacrifices a fatter [victim of] prayer to God![3]

CHAP. XI.—*Of the respect due to "human authority;" and of the charges of "heresy" and "pseudo-prophecy."*

But all these [instances] I believe to be unknown to those who are in a state of agitation at our proceedings; or else known by the reading alone, not by careful study as well; in accordance with the greater bulk of "the unskilled"[4] among the overboastful multitude, to wit, of the Psychics. This is why we have steered our course straight through the different individual species of fastings, of xerophagies, of stations: in order that, while we recount, according to the materials which we find in either Testament, the advantages which the dutiful observances of abstinence from, or curtailment or deferment of, food confer, we may refute those who invalidate these things as empty observances; and again, while we similarly point out in what rank of religious duty they have always had place, may confute those who accuse them as novelties: for neither is that novel which has always been, nor that empty which is useful.

The question, however, still lies before us, that some of these observances, having been commanded by God to man,

[1] See 1 Sam. (in LXX. 1 Kings) xiv. 24–45.
[2] See Dan. ix. 1, 3, 4, 20, 21. [3] Comp. *de Or.* c. xxviii.
[4] Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

have constituted this practice legally binding; some, offered by man to God, have discharged some votive obligation. Still, even a vow, when it has been accepted by God, constitutes a law for the time to come, owing to the authority of the Acceptor; for he who has given his approbation to a deed, when done, has given a mandate for its doing thenceforward. And so from this consideration, again, the wrangling of the opposite party is silenced, while they say: "It is either a pseudo-prophecy, if it is a spiritual voice which institutes these your solemnities; or else a heresy, if it is a human presumption which devises them." For, while censuring that form in which the ancient economies ran their course, and at the same time drawing out of that form arguments to hurl back [upon us] which the very adversaries of the ancient economies will in their turn be able to retort, they will be bound either to reject those arguments, or else to undertake these proven duties [which they impugn]: necessarily so; chiefly because these very duties [which they impugn], from whatsoever instituter they are, be he a spiritual man or merely an ordinary believer, direct their course to the honour of the same God as the ancient economies. For, indubitably, both heresy and pseudo-prophecy will, in the eyes of us who are all priests of one only God the Creator and of His Christ, be judged by diversity of Divinity: and so far forth I defend this side indifferently, offering my opponents to join issue on whatever ground they choose. "It is the spirit of the devil," you say, O Psychic. And how is it that he enjoins duties which belong to our God, and enjoins them to be offered to none other than our God? Either contend that the devil works with our God, or else let the Paraclete be held to be Satan. But you affirm it is "a human Antichrist:" for by this name heretics are called in John.[1] And how is it that, whoever he is, he has in [the name of] our Christ directed these duties toward our Lord; whereas withal antichrists have [ever] gone forth [professedly teaching] towards God, [but] in opposition to our Christ? On which side, then, do you think the Spirit is confirmed as existing

[1] See 1 John ii. 18, 29; 2 John 7–10.

among us; when He commands, or when He approves, what our God has always both commanded and approved? But you again set up boundary-posts to God, as with regard to grace, so with regard to discipline; as with regard to gifts, so, too, with regard to solemnities: so that our observances are supposed to have ceased in like manner as His benefits; and you thus deny that He still continues to impose duties, because, in this case again, "the Law and the prophets [were] until John." It remains for you to banish Him wholly, being, as He is, so far as lies in *you*, so otiose.

Chap. xii.—*Of the need for some protest against the Psychics and their self-indulgence.*

For, by this time, in this respect as well as others, "you are reigning in wealth and satiety"[1]—not making inroads upon such sins as fasts diminish, nor feeling need of such revelations as xerophagies extort, nor apprehending such wars of your own as Stations dispel. Grant that from the time of John the Paraclete had grown mute; we ourselves would have arisen as prophets to ourselves, for this cause chiefly: I say not now to bring down by our prayers God's anger, nor to obtain His protection or grace; but to secure by premunition the moral position of the "latest times;"[2] enjoining every species of ταπεινοφρόνησις, since the prison must be familiarized to us, and hunger and thirst practised, and capacity of enduring as well the absence of food as anxiety about it acquired: in order that the Christian may enter into prison in like condition as if he had [just] come forth of it,—to suffer there not penalty, but discipline, and not the world's tortures, but his own habitual observances; and to go forth out of custody to [the final] conflict with all the more confidence, having nothing of sinful false care of the flesh about him, so that the tortures may not even have material to work on, since he is cuirassed in a mere dry skin, and cased in horn to meet the claws, the succulence of

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 8.

[2] See the Vulg. in 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2 Tim. iii. 1; and comp. therewith the Greek in both places.

his blood already sent on [heavenward] before him, the baggage as it were of his soul,—the soul herself withal now hastening [after it], having already, by frequent fasting, gained a most intimate knowledge of death!

Plainly, *your* habit is to furnish cookshops in the prisons to untrustworthy martyrs, for fear they should miss their accustomed usages, grow weary of life, [and] be stumbled at the novel discipline of abstinence; [a discipline] which not even the well-known Pristinus—*your* martyr, no *Christian* martyr—had ever come in contact with: he whom—stuffed as he had long been, thanks to the facilities afforded by the "free custody" [now in vogue, and] under an obligation, I suppose, to all the baths (as if they were better than baptism!), and to all the retreats of voluptuousness (as if they were more secret than those of the church!), and to all the allurements of this life (as if they were of more worth than those of life eternal!), not to be willing to die—on the very last day of trial, at high noon, you premedicated with drugged wine as an antidote, and so completely enervated, that on being tickled—for his intoxication made it feel like tickling—with a few claws, he was unable any more to make answer to the presiding officer interrogating him "whom he confessed to be Lord;" and, being now put on the rack for this silence, when he could utter nothing but hiccoughs and belchings, died in the very act of apostasy! This is why they who preach sobriety are "false prophets;" this why they who practise it are "heretics!" Why then hesitate to believe that the Paraclete, whom you deny in a Montanus, exists in an Apicius?

Chap. xiii.—*Of the inconsistencies of the Psychics.*

You lay down a prescription that this faith has its solemnities "appointed" by the Scriptures or the tradition of the ancestors; and that no further addition in the way of observance must be added, on account of the unlawfulness of innovation. Stand on that ground, if you can. For, behold, I impeach you of fasting besides on the Paschal-day, beyond the limits of those days in which "the Bridegroom

was taken away;" and interposing the half-fasts of Stations; and you, [I find], sometimes living on bread and water, when it has seemed meet to each [so to do]. In short, you answer that "these things are to be done of choice, not of command." You have changed your ground, therefore, by exceeding tradition, in undertaking observances which have not been "appointed." But what kind of deed is it, to permit to your own choice what you grant not to the command of God? Shall human volition have more licence than Divine power? I am mindful that I am free from *the world*,[1] not from God. Thus it is my part to perform, without external suggestion thereto, an act of respect to my Lord, it is His to enjoin. I ought not merely to pay a willing obedience to Him, but withal to court Him; for the former I render to His command, the latter to my own choice.

But it is enough for me that it is a customary practice for the bishops withal to issue mandates for fasts to the universal commonalty of the church; I do not mean for the special purpose of collecting contributions of alms, as your beggarly fashion has it, but sometimes too from some particular cause of ecclesiastical solicitude. And accordingly, if you practise ταπεινοφρόνησις at the bidding of a man's edict, and all unitedly, how is it that in our case you set a brand upon the very unity also of our fastings, and xerophagies, and Stations?—unless, perhaps, it is against the decrees of the senate and the mandates of the emperors which are opposed to "meetings" that we are sinning! The Holy Spirit, when He was preaching in whatsoever lands He chose, and through whomsoever He chose, was wont, from foresight of the imminence either of temptations to befall the church, or of plagues to befall the world, in His character of Paraclete (that is, Advocate for the purpose of winning over the judge by prayers), to issue mandates for observances of this nature; for instance, at the present time, with the view of practising the discipline of sobriety and abstinence: we, who receive Him, must necessarily observe also the appointments which He then made. Look at the Jewish calendar, and you will

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 19; sæculo.

find it nothing novel that all succeeding posterity guards with hereditary scrupulousness the precepts given to the fathers. Besides, throughout the provinces of Greece there are held in definite localities those councils gathered out of the universal churches, by whose means not only all the deeper questions are handled for the common benefit, but the actual representation of the whole Christian name is celebrated with great veneration. (And how worthy a thing is this, that, under the auspices of faith, men should congregate from all quarters to Christ! "See, how good and how enjoyable for brethren to dwell in unity!"[1] This psalm *you* know not easily how to sing, except when you are supping with a goodly company!) But those conclaves first, by the operations of Stations and fastings, know what it is "to grieve with the grieving," and thus at last "to rejoice in company with the rejoicing."[2] If we also, in our diverse provinces, [but] present mutually in spirit,[3] observe those very solemnities, whose then celebration our present discourse has been defending, that is the sacramental law.

Chap. xiv.—*Reply to the charge of "Galaticism."*

Being, therefore, observers of "seasons" for these things, and of "days, and months, and years,"[4] we *Galaticize*. Plainly we do, if we are observers of *Jewish* ceremonies, of *legal* solemnities: for *those* the apostle unteaches, suppressing the continuance of the Old Testament which has been buried in Christ, and establishing that of the New. But if there is a new creation in Christ,[5] our solemnities too will be bound to be new: else, if the apostle has erased *all* devotion absolutely "of seasons, and days, and months, and years," why do we celebrate the passover by an *annual* rotation in the *first month?* Why in the *fifty* ensuing *days* do we spend our time in all exultation? Why do we devote to Stations the *fourth* and *sixth days* of the week, and to fasts the "*preparation-day?*"[6] Anyhow, *you* sometimes continue your

[1] Ps. cxxxiii. (in LXX. and Vulg. cxxxii.).
[2] See Rom. xii. 15.
[3] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 3; Col. ii. 5.
[4] Comp. Gal. iv. 10.
[5] Comp. Luke xxii. 20; 2 Cor. v. 17, etc.
[6] Comp. Mark xv. 42.

Station even over the Sabbath,—a day never to be kept as a fast except at the passover season, according to a reason elsewhere given. With us, at all events, *every* day likewise is celebrated by an ordinary consecration. And it will not, then, be, in the eyes of the apostle, the *differentiating principle*—distinguishing (as he is doing) "things new and old"[1]—which will be ridiculous; but (in this case too) it will be your own unfairness, while you taunt us with the *form* of *antiquity* all the while you are laying against us the *charge* of *novelty*.

Chap. xv.—*Of the apostle's language concerning food.*

The apostle reprobates likewise such as "bid to abstain from meats;" but he does so from the foresight of the Holy Spirit, precondemning already the heretics who would enjoin *perpetual* abstinence to the extent of destroying and despising the works of the Creator; such as I may find in the person of a Marcion, a Tatian, or a Jupiter, the Pythagorean heretic of to-day; not in the person of the Paraclete. For how limited is the extent of *our* "interdiction of meats!" Two weeks of xerophagies in the year (and not the whole of these,—the Sabbaths, to wit, and the Lord's days, being excepted) we offer to God; abstaining from things which we do not *reject*, but *defer*. But further: when writing to the Romans, the apostle now gives *you* a home-thrust, detractors as you are of this observance: "Do not for the sake of food," he says, "undo[2] the work of God." What "work?" That about which he says,[3] "It is good not to eat flesh, and not to drink wine:" "for he who in these points doeth service, is pleasing and propitiable to our God." "One believeth that all things may be eaten; but another, being weak, feedeth on vegetables. Let not him who eateth lightly esteem him who eateth not. Who art thou, who judgest another's servant?" "Both he who eateth, and he who eateth not, giveth God thanks." But, since he forbids *human* choice to be made matter of controversy, how much more *Divine!* Thus he knew how to chide certain restricters and interdicters of food, such as abstained from it of contempt, not of duty;

[1] Comp. Matt. xiii. 52 *ad fin.* [2] Rom. xiv. 20. [3] Ver. 21.

but to approve such as did so to the honour, not the insult, of the Creator. And if he has "delivered you the keys of the meat-market," permitting the eating of "all things" with a view to establishing the exception of "things offered to idols;" still he has not included the kingdom of God in the meat-market: "For," he says, "the kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink;"[1] and, "Food commendeth us not to God"—not that you may think this said about *dry* diet, but rather about rich and carefully prepared, if, when he subjoins, "Neither, if we shall have eaten, shall we abound; nor, if we shall not have eaten, shall we be deficient," the ring of his words suits, [as it does], you rather [than us], who think that you do "abound" if you eat, and are "deficient" if you eat not; and for this reason disparage these observances.

How unworthy, also, is the way in which you interpret to the favour of your own lust the fact that the Lord "ate and drank" promiscuously! But I think that He must have likewise "fasted," inasmuch as He has pronounced, not "the full," but "the hungry and thirsty, blessed:"[2] [He] who was wont to profess "food" to be, not that which His disciples had supposed, but "the thorough doing of the Father's work;"[3] teaching "to labour for the meat which is permanent unto life eternal;"[4] in our ordinary prayer likewise commanding us to request "bread,"[5] not the wealth of Attalus[6] therewithal. Thus, too, Isaiah has not denied that God "hath chosen" *a* "fast;" but has particularized in detail the *kind* of fast which He has *not* chosen: "for in the days," he says, "of your fasts your own wills are found [indulged], and all who are subject to you ye stealthily sting; or else ye fast with a view to abuse and strifes, and ye smite with the fists. Not *such* a fast have I elected;"[7] but such an one as He has subjoined, and by subjoining has not abolished, but confirmed.

[1] Rom. xiv. 17. [2] Comp. Luke vi. 21 with 25, and Matt. v. 6.
[3] John iv. 31–34. [4] John vi. 27. [5] Matt. vi. 11; Luke xi. 3.
[6] See Hor. *Od.* i. 1. 12, and Macleane's note there.
[7] See Isa. lviii. 3, 4, 5, briefly, and more like the LXX. than the Vulg. or the Eng. ver.

CHAP. XVI.—*Instances from Scripture of Divine judgments upon the self-indulgent; and appeals to the practices of heathens.*

For even if He does *prefer* "the works of righteousness," still not without a sacrifice, which is a soul afflicted with fasts.[1] He, at all events, is the God to whom neither a People incontinent of appetite, nor a priest, nor a prophet, was pleasing. To this day the "monuments of concupiscence" remain, where the People, greedy of "flesh," till, by devouring without digesting the quails, they brought on cholera, were buried. Eli breaks his neck before the temple doors,[2] his sons fall in battle, his daughter-in-law expires in child-birth:[3] for such was the blow which had been deserved at the hand of God by the shameless house, the defrauder of the fleshly sacrifices.[4] Sameas, a "man of God," after prophesying the issue of the idolatry introduced by King Jeroboam—after the drying up and immediate restoration of that king's hand—after the rending in twain of the sacrificial altar,—being on account of these signs invited [home] by the king by way of recompense, plainly declined (for he had been prohibited by God) to touch food at all in that place; but having presently afterwards rashly taken food from another old man, who lyingly professed himself a prophet, he was deprived, in accordance with the word of God then and there uttered over the table, of burial in his fathers' sepulchres. For he was prostrated by the rushing of a lion upon him in the way, and was buried among strangers; and thus paid the penalty of his breach of fast.[5]

These will be warnings both to people and to bishops, even spiritual ones, in case they may ever have been guilty of incontinence of appetite. Nay, even in Hades the admonition has not ceased to speak; where we find in the person of the

[1] See Ps. li. (l. in LXX. and Vulg.) 18–21; see c. iii. above.

[2] This seems an oversight; see 1 Sam. (in LXX. and Vulg. 1 Kings) iv. 13.

[3] 1 Sam. iv. 17–21.

[4] 1 Sam. ii. 12–17, 22–25.

[5] See 1 Kings (in LXX. and Vulg. 3 Kings) xiii.

rich feaster, convivialities tortured; in that of the pauper, fasts refreshed; having—[as convivialities and fasts alike had]—as preceptors "Moses and the prophets."[1] For Joel withal exclaimed: "Sanctify a fast, and a religious service;"[2] foreseeing even then that other apostles and prophets would sanction fasts, and would preach observances of special service to God. Whence it is that even they who court their *idols* by dressing them, and by adorning them in their sanctuary, and by saluting them at each particular hour, are said to do them *service*. But, more than that, the heathens recognise every form of *ταπεινοφρόνησις*. When the heaven is rigid and the year arid, barefooted processions are enjoined by public proclamation; the magistrates lay aside their purple, reverse the fasces, utter prayer, offer a victim. There are, moreover, some colonies where, besides [these extraordinary solemnities, the inhabitants], by an annual rite, clad in sackcloth and besprent with ashes, present a suppliant importunity to their idols, [while] baths and shops are kept shut till the ninth hour. They have one single fire in public—on the altars; no water even in their platters. There is, I believe, a Ninevitan suspension of business! A Jewish fast, at all events, is universally celebrated; while, neglecting the temples, throughout all the shore, in every open place, they continue long to send prayer up to heaven. And, albeit by the dress and ornamentation of mourning they disgrace the duty, still they do affect a faith in abstinence, and sigh for the arrival of the long-lingering evening star to sanction [their feeding]. But it is enough for me that you, by heaping blasphemies upon *our* xerophagies, put them on a level with the chastity of an Isis and a Cybele. I admit the comparison in the way of evidence. Hence [our xerophagy] will be proved divine, which the devil, the emulator of things divine, imitates. It is out of truth that falsehood is built; out of religion that superstition is compacted. Hence *you* are more irreligious, in proportion as a heathen is more conformable. He, in short, sacrifices his appetite to an idol-god; *you* to [the true] God will not.

[1] Luke xvi. 19–31. [2] Joel ii. 15.

For to you your belly is god, and your lungs a temple, and your paunch a sacrificial altar, and your cook the priest, and your fragrant smell the Holy Spirit, and your condiments spiritual gifts, and your belching prophecy.

Chap. xvii.—*Conclusion.*

"Old" you are, if we will say the truth, you who are so indulgent to appetite, and justly do you vaunt your "priority:" always do I recognise the savour of Esau, the hunter of wild beasts: so unlimitedly studious are you of catching field-fares, so do you come from "the field" of your most lax discipline, so faint are you in spirit.[1] If I offer you a paltry lentile dyed red with must well boiled down, forthwith you will sell all your "primacies:" with you "love" shows its fervour in sauce-pans, "faith" its warmth in kitchens, "hope" its anchorage in waiters; but of greater account is "love," because that is the means whereby your young men sleep with their sisters! Appendages, as we all know, of appetite are lasciviousness and voluptuousness. Which alliance the apostle withal was aware of; and hence, after premising, "Not in drunkenness and revels," he adjoined, "nor in couches and lusts."[2]

To the indictment of your appetite pertains [the charge] that "double honour" is with you assigned to your presiding [elders] by double shares [of meat and drink]; whereas the apostle has given them "double honour" as being both *brethren* and *officers*.[3] Who, among you, is superior in holiness, except him who is more frequent in banqueting, more sumptuous in catering, more learned in cups? Men of soul and flesh alone as you are, justly do you reject things spiritual. If the prophets were pleasing to *such*, my [prophets] they were not. Why, then, do not you constantly preach, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die?"[4] just as *we* do not hesitate manfully to command, "Let us fast, brethren and sisters, lest to-morrow perchance we die."

[1] Comp. Gen. xxiii. 2, 3, 4, 31, and xxv. 27–34.
[2] Rom. xiii. 13.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 17.
[4] Isa. xxii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 32

Openly let us vindicate our disciplines. Sure we are that "they who are in the flesh cannot please God;"[1] not, of course, those who are in the *substance* of the flesh, but in the *care*, the *affection*, the *work*, the *will*, of it. Emaciation displeases not us; for it is not by weight that God bestows flesh, any more than He does "the Spirit by measure."[2] More easily, it may be, through the "strait gate"[3] of salvation will slenderer flesh enter; more speedily will lighter flesh rise; longer in the sepulchre will drier flesh retain its firmness. Let Olympic cestus-players and boxers cram themselves to satiety. To them bodily ambition is suitable to whom bodily strength is necessary; and yet they also strengthen themselves by xerophagies. But ours are other thews and other sinews, just as our contests withal are other; we whose "wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the world's[4] powers, against the spiritualities of malice." Against these it is not by robustness of flesh and blood, but of faith and spirit, that it behoves us to make our antagonistic stand. On the other hand, an over-fed Christian will be more necessary to bears and lions, perchance, than to God; only that, even to encounter beasts, it will be his duty to practise emaciation.

[1] Rom. viii. 8. [2] John iii. 34.
[3] Matt. vii. 13, 14; Luke xiii. 24.
[4] Mundi: cf. κοσμοκράτορας, Eph. vi. 12.

ON THE VEILING OF VIRGINS.

CHAP. I.—*Truth rather to be appealed to than custom, and truth progressive in its developments.*

HAVING already undergone the trouble peculiar to my opinion, I will show in Latin also that it behoves our virgins to be veiled from the time that they have passed the turning-point of their age: that this observance is exacted by truth, on which no one can impose prescription—no space of times, no influence of persons, no privilege of regions. For these, for the most part, are the sources whence, from some ignorance or simplicity, custom finds its beginning; and then it is successionally confirmed into an usage, and thus is maintained in opposition to truth. But our Lord Christ has surnamed Himself Truth,[1] not Custom. If Christ is always, and prior to all, equally truth is a thing sempiternal and ancient. Let those therefore look to themselves, to whom that is new which is intrinsically old. It is not so much novelty as truth which convicts heresies. Whatever savours of opposition to truth, this will be heresy, even [if it be an] ancient custom. On the other hand, if any is ignorant of anything, the ignorance proceeds from his own defect. Moreover, whatever is matter of ignorance ought to have been as carefully *inquired into* as whatever is matter of acknowledgment *received*. The rule of faith, indeed, is altogether one, alone immoveable and irreformable; the rule, to wit, of believing in one only God omnipotent, the Creator of the universe, and His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised again the third day from the

[1] John xiv. 6.

dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right [hand] of the Father, destined to come to judge quick and dead through the resurrection of the flesh as well [as of the spirit]. This law of faith being constant, the other succeeding points of discipline and conversation admit the "novelty" of correction; the grace of God, to wit, operating and advancing even to the end. For what kind of [supposition] is it, that, while the devil is always operating and adding daily to the ingenuities of iniquity, the work of God should either have ceased, or else have desisted from advancing? whereas the reason why the Lord sent the Paraclete was, that, since human mediocrity was unable to take in all things at once, discipline should, little by little, be directed, and ordained, and carried on to perfection, by that Vicar of the Lord, the Holy Spirit. "Still," He said, "I have many things to say to you, but ye are not yet able to bear them: when that Spirit of truth shall have come, He will conduct you into all truth, and will report to you the supervening [things]."[1] But above, withal, He made a declaration concerning this His work.[2] What, then, is the Paraclete's administrative office but this: the direction of discipline, the revelation of the Scriptures, the re-formation of the intellect, the advancement toward the "better things?"[3] Nothing is without stages of growth: all things await their season. In short, the preacher says, "A time to everything."[4] Look how creation itself advances little by little to fructification. First comes the grain, and from the grain arises the shoot, and from the shoot struggles out the shrub: thereafter boughs and leaves gather strength, and the whole that we call a tree expands: then follows the swelling of the germen, and from the germen bursts the flower, and from the flower the fruit opens: that fruit itself, rude for a while, and unshapely, little by little, keeping the straight course of its development, is trained to the mellowness of its flavour.[5] So, too, righteousness—for the God of righteousness and of creation is

[1] John xvi. 12, 13. See *de Monog.* c. ii.
[2] See John xiv. 26.
[3] Comp. Heb. xi. 40, xii. 24.
[4] Eccles. iii. 1, briefly.
[5] Comp. Mark iv. 28.

the same—was first in a rudimentary state, having a natural fear of God: from that stage it advanced, through the Law and the Prophets, to infancy; from that stage it passed, through the Gospel, to the fervour of youth: now, through the Paraclete, it is settling into maturity. He will be, after Christ, the only one to be called and revered as Master;[1] for He speaks not from Himself, but what is commanded by Christ.[2] He is the only prelate, because He alone succeeds Christ. They who have received Him set truth before custom. They who have heard Him prophesying even to the present time, not of old, bid virgins be wholly covered.

CHAP. II.—*Before proceeding farther, let the question of custom itself be sifted.*

But I will not, meantime, attribute this usage to Truth. Be it, for a while, custom: that to custom I may likewise oppose custom.

Throughout Greece, and certain of its barbaric provinces, the majority of churches keep their virgins covered. There are places, too, beneath this [African] sky, where this practice obtains; lest any ascribe the custom to Greek or barbarian Gentilehood. But I have proposed [as models] those churches which were founded by apostles or apostolic men; and antecedently, I think, to certain [founders, who shall be nameless]. Those churches therefore, as well [as others], have the selfsame authority of custom [to appeal to]; they range in opposing phalanx "times" and "teachers," more than these later [churches do]. What shall we observe? What shall we choose? We cannot contemptuously reject a custom which we cannot condemn, inasmuch as it is not "strange," since it is not among "strangers" that we find it, but among those, to wit, with whom we share the law of peace and the name of brotherhood. They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptismal sacraments; let me say it once for all, we are one church.[3] Thus, whatever belongs to our brethren is ours: only, the body divides us.

[1] Comp. Matt. xxiii. 8. [2] John xvi. 13. [3] Comp. Eph. iv. 1–6.

Still, here (as generally happens in all cases of various practice, of doubt, and of uncertainty), examination ought to have been made to see which of two so diverse customs were the more compatible with the discipline of God. And, of course, that ought to have been chosen which keeps virgins veiled, as being known to God alone; who (besides that glory must be sought from God, not from men[1]) ought to blush even at their own privilege. You put a virgin to the blush more by praising than by blaming her; because the front of sin is more hard, learning shamelessness from and in the sin itself. For that custom which belies virgins while it exhibits them, would never have been approved by any except by some men who must have been similar in character to the virgins themselves. Such eyes will wish that a virgin be seen as has the virgin who shall wish to be seen. The same kinds of eyes reciprocally crave after each other. Seeing and being seen belong to the selfsame lust. To blush if he see a virgin is as much a mark of a chaste[2] man, as of a chaste[3] virgin if seen by a man.

Chap. III.—*Gradual development of custom, and its results. Passionate appeal to truth.*

But not even between customs have those most chaste[4] teachers chosen to examine. Still, until very recently, among *us*, either custom was, with comparative indifference, admitted to communion. The matter had been left to choice, for each virgin to veil herself or expose herself, as she might have chosen, just as [she had equal liberty] as to marrying, which itself withal is neither enforced nor prohibited. Truth had been content to make an agreement with custom, in order that under the name of custom it might enjoy itself even partially. But when the power of discerning began to advance, so that the licence granted to either fashion was becoming the mean whereby the indication of the better part emerged; immediately the great adversary of good things—and much more of good institu-

[1] Comp. John v. 44 and xii. 43.
[2] Sancti.
[3] Sanctæ.
[4] Sanctissimi.

tions—set to his own work. The virgins of men go about, in opposition to the virgins of God, with front quite bare, excited to a rash audacity; and the semblance of *virgins* is exhibited by women who have the power of asking somewhat from *husbands*,[1] not to say such a request as that (forsooth) their rivals—all the more "free" in that they are the "handmaids" of Christ alone[2]—may be surrendered to them. "We are scandalized," they say, "because others walk otherwise [than we do];" and they prefer being "scandalized" to being provoked [to modesty]. A "scandal," if I mistake not, is an example not of a good thing, but of a bad, tending to sinful edification. Good things scandalize none but an evil mind. If modesty, if bashfulness, if contempt of glory, anxious to please God alone, are good things, let women who are "scandalized" by such good learn to acknowledge their own evil. For what if the incontinent withal say they are "scandalized" by the continent? Is continence to be recalled? And, for fear the multinubists be "scandalized," is monogamy to be rejected? Why may not these latter rather complain that the petulance, the impudence, of ostentatious virginity is a "scandal" to *them?* Are therefore chaste virgins to be, for the sake of these marketable creatures, dragged into the church, blushing at being recognised in public, quaking at being unveiled, as if they had been invited as it were to rape? For they are no less unwilling to suffer even this. Every public exposure of an honourable virgin is [to her] a suffering of rape: and yet the suffering of carnal violence is the less [evil], because it comes of natural office. But when the very spirit itself is violated in a virgin by the abstraction of her covering, she has learnt to lose what she used to keep. O sacrilegious hands, which have had the hardihood to drag off a dress dedicated to God! What worse could any persecutor have done, if he had known that this [garb] had been chosen by a virgin? You have denuded a maiden in regard of her head, and forthwith she wholly ceases to be a virgin to

[1] The allusion is perhaps to 1 Cor. xiv. 35.
[2] Comp. 1 Cor. vii. 21, 22.

herself; she has undergone a change! Arise, therefore, Truth; arise, and as it were burst forth from Thy patience! No *custom* do I wish Thee to defend; for by this time even that custom under which Thou didst enjoy thy own liberty is being stormed! Demonstrate that it is Thyself who art the coverer of virgins. Interpret in person Thine own Scriptures, which Custom understandeth not; for, if she had, she never would have had an existence.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the argument drawn from* 1 *Cor.* xi. 5–16.

But in so far as it is the custom to argue even from the Scriptures in opposition to truth, there is immediately urged against us the fact that "no mention of virgins is made by the apostle where he is prescribing about the veil, but that 'women' only are named; whereas, if he had willed virgins as well to be covered, he would have pronounced concerning 'virgins' also together with the 'women' named; just as," says [our opponent], "in that passage where he is treating of marriage,[1] he declares likewise with regard to 'virgins' what observance is to be followed." And accordingly [it is urged] that "they are not comprised in the law of veiling the head, as not being named in this law; nay rather, that this is the origin of their being *un*veiled, inasmuch as they who are not *named* are not *bidden*."

But we withal retort the selfsame line of argument. For he who knew elsewhere how to make mention of each sex—of *virgin* I mean, and *woman*, that is, *not-virgin*—for distinction's sake; in these [passages], in which he does *not* name a *virgin*, points out (by not making the distinction) community of condition. Otherwise he could here also have marked the difference between *virgin* and *woman*, just as elsewhere he says, "Divided is the *woman* and the *virgin*."[2] Therefore those whom, by passing them over in silence, he has not divided, he has included in the other species.

Nor yet, because in that case "divided is both *woman* and *virgin*," will this division exert its patronizing influence in the present case as well, as some will have it. For

[1] 1 Cor. vii. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 34.

how many sayings, uttered on another occasion, have no weight—in cases, to wit, where they are *not* uttered—unless the subject-matter be the same as on the other occasion, so that the one utterance may suffice! But the former case of *virgin* and *woman* is widely "divided" from the present question. "Divided," he says, "is the *woman* and the *virgin*." Why? Inasmuch as "the unmarried," that is, the *virgin*, "is anxious about those [things] which are the Lord's, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but the married," that is, the *not-virgin*, "is anxious how she may please her husband." This will be the interpretation of that "division," having no place in this passage [now under consideration]; in which pronouncement is made neither about marriage, nor about the mind and the thought of *woman* and of *virgin*, but about the veiling of the head. Of which [veiling] the Holy Spirit willing that there should be no distinction, willed that by the one name of *woman* should likewise be understood the *virgin;* whom, by not specially naming, He has not separated from the *woman*, and, by not separating, has conjoined to her from whom He has not separated her.

Is it now, then, a "novelty" to use the primary word, and nevertheless to have the other [subordinate divisions] understood in that word, in cases where there is no necessity for individually distinguishing the [various parts of] the universal whole? Naturally, a compendious style of speech is both pleasing and necessary; inasmuch as diffuse speech is both tiresome and vain. So, too, we are content with general words, which comprehend in themselves the understanding of the specialties. Proceed we, then, to the word itself. The *natural* word is *female*. Of the natural word, the *general* word is *woman*. Of the *general*, again, the *special* is *virgin*, or *wife*, or *widow*, or whatever other names, even of the successive stages of life, are added hereto. Subject, therefore, the *special* is to the *general* (because the general is prior); and the *succedent* to the *antecedent*, and the *partial* to the *universal:* [each] is implied in the word itself to which it is subject; and is signified in it, because

contained in it. Thus neither *hand*, nor *foot*, nor any one of the *members*, requires to be signified when the *body* is named. And if you say the *universe*, therein will be both the heaven and the things that are in it,—sun and moon, and constellations and stars,—and the earth and the seas, and everything that goes to make up the list of elements. You will have named all, when you have named that which is made up of all. So, too, by naming *woman*, he has named whatever is *woman's*.

CHAP. V.—*Of the word* WOMAN, *especially in connection with its application to Eve.*

But since they use the name of *woman* in such a way as to think it inapplicable save to her alone who has known a man, the pertinence of the propriety of this word to the sex itself, not to a grade of the sex, must be proved by us; that virgins as well [as others] may be commonly comprised in it.

When this kind of second human being was made by God for man's assistance, that *female* was forthwith named *woman;* still happy, still worthy of paradise, still *virgin*. "She shall be called," said [Adam], "Woman." And accordingly you have the name,—I say, not already *common* to a *virgin*, but—*proper* [to her; a name] which from the beginning was allotted to a *virgin*. But some ingeniously will have it that it was said of the *future*, "She *shall be* called *woman*," as if she were destined to be so when she had resigned her virginity; since he added withal: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and be conglutinated to his own *woman;* and the two shall be one flesh." Let them therefore among whom that subtlety obtains show us first, if she were surnamed *woman* with a future reference, what name she meantime received. For without a name expressive of her *present* quality she cannot have been. But what kind of [hypothesis] is it that one who, with an eye to the future, was called by a definite name, at the present time should have nothing for a surname? On all animals Adam imposed names; and on none on the ground of future condition, but on the ground of the present purpose which each

particular nature served;[1] called [as each nature was] by that to which from the beginning it showed a propensity. What, then, was she at that time called? Why, as often as she is named in the Scripture, she has the appellation *woman* before she was *wedded*, and never *virgin* while she *was* a *virgin*.

This name was at that time the only one she had, and [that] when nothing was [as yet] said prophetically. For when the Scripture records that "the two were naked, Adam and his *woman*," neither does this savour of the future, as if it said "his *woman*" as a presage of "wife;" but because his *woman*[2] was withal unwedded, as being [formed] from his own substance. "This bone," he says, "out of my bones, and flesh out of my flesh, shall be called *woman*." Hence, then, it is from the tacit consciousness of nature that the actual divinity of the soul has educed into the ordinary usage of common speech, unawares to men, (just as [it has thus educed] many other things too which we shall elsewhere be able to show to derive from the Scriptures the origin of their doing and saying,) our fashion of calling our *wives* our *women*, however improperly withal we may in *some* instances speak. For the Greeks, too, who use the name of *woman* more [than we do] in the sense of *wife*, have other names appropriate to *wife*. But I prefer to assign this usage as a testimony to Scripture. For when two are made into one flesh through the marriage-tie, the "flesh of flesh and bone of bones" is called the *woman* of him of whose *substance* she begins to be accounted by being made his *wife*. Thus *woman* is not by nature a name of *wife*, but *wife* by condition is a name of *woman*. In fine, *woman*hood is predicable apart from *wife*hood; but *wife*hood apart from *woman*hood is not, because it cannot even exist. Having therefore settled the name of the newly-made female — which [name] is *woman* — and having explained what she formerly was, that is, having sealed the name to her, he immediately turned to the prophetic reason, so as to say, "On this account shall a man leave father and mother." The name is so truly separate from the prophecy,

[1] Gen. ii. 19, 20. [2] Mulier, throughout.

as far as [the prophecy] from the individual person herself, that of course it is not with reference to Eve herself that [Adam] has uttered [the prophecy], but with a view to those future females whom he has named in the maternal fount of the feminine race. Besides, Adam was not to leave "father and mother"—whom he had not—for the sake of Eve. Therefore that which was prophetically said does not apply to Eve, because it does not to Adam either. For it was predicted with regard to the condition of husbands, who were destined to leave their parents for a *woman's* sake; which could not chance to Eve, because it could not to Adam either.

If the case is so, it is apparent that she was not surnamed *woman* on account of a future [circumstance], to whom [that] future [circumstance] did not apply.

To this is added, that [Adam] himself published the reason of the name. For, after saying, "She shall be called *woman*," he said, "inasmuch as she hath been taken out of man"—the man himself withal being still a virgin. But we will speak, too, about the name of *man*[1] in its own place. Accordingly, let none interpret with a prophetic reference a name which was deduced from another signification; especially since it is apparent when she *did* receive a name founded upon a future [circumstance], — there, namely, where she is surnamed "Eve," with a *personal* name now, because the *natural* one had gone before.[2] For if "Eve" means "the mother of the living," behold, she is surnamed from a future [circumstance]! behold, she is pre-announced to be a *wife*, and not a *virgin!* This will be the name of one who is about to wed; for of the bride [comes] the mother.

Thus in this case too it is shown, that it was not from a future [circumstance] that she was at that time named *woman*, who was shortly after to receive the name which would be proper to her future condition.

Sufficient answer has been made to this part [of the question].

[1] Viri: so throughout.

[2] See Gen. iii. 20.

CHAP. VI.—*The parallel case of Mary considered.*

Let us now see whether the apostle withal observes the norm of this name in accordance with Genesis, attributing it to *the sex;* calling the *virgin* Mary a *woman*, just as Genesis [does] Eve. For, writing to the Galatians, "God," he says, "sent His own Son, made of a *woman*,"[1] who, of course, is admitted to have been a *virgin*, albeit Hebion resist [that doctrine]. I recognise, too, the angel Gabriel as having been sent to "a *virgin*."[2] But when he is blessing her, it is "among *women*," not among *virgins*, that he ranks her: "Blessed [be] thou among *women*." The angel withal knew that even a *virgin* is called a *woman*.

But to these two [arguments], again, there is one who appears to himself to have made an ingenious answer; [to the effect that] inasmuch as Mary was "betrothed," therefore it is that both by angel and apostle she is pronounced a *woman;* for a "betrothed" is in some sense a "bride." Still, between "in some sense" and "truth" there is difference enough, at all events in the present place: for elsewhere, we grant, we must thus hold. Now, however, it is not as being already wedded that they have pronounced Mary a *woman*, but as being none the less a *female* even if she had not been espoused; as having been called by this [name] from the beginning: for that must necessarily have a prejudicating force from which the normal type has descended. Else, as far as relates to the present passage, if Mary is here put on a level with a "betrothed," so that she is called a *woman* not on the ground of being a *female*, but on the ground of being assigned to a husband, it immediately follows that Christ was not born of a *virgin*, because [born] of one "betrothed," who by this fact will have ceased to be a *virgin*. Whereas, if He was born of a *virgin*—albeit withal "betrothed," yet intact—acknowledge that even a *virgin*, even an intact one, is called a *woman*. Here, at all events, there can be no semblance of speaking prophetically, as if the apostle should have named a *future woman*, that is, *bride*, in saying "made of a *woman*."

[1] Gal. iv. 4. [2] Luke i. 26, 27.

For he could not be naming a posterior *woman*, from whom Christ had not to be born—that is, one who had known a man; but she who was then present, who was a *virgin*, was withal called a *woman* in consequence of the propriety of this name,—vindicated, in accordance with the primordial norm, [as belonging] to a *virgin*, and thus to the universal class of *women*.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the reasons assigned by the apostle for bidding women to be veiled.*

Turn we next to the examination of the reasons themselves which lead the apostle to teach that the female ought to be veiled, [to see] whether the selfsame [reasons] apply to *virgins* likewise; so that hence also the community of the name between *virgins* and *not-virgins* may be established, while the selfsame causes which necessitate the veil are found to exist in each case.

If "the man is head of the *woman*,"[1] of course [he is] of the *virgin* too, from whom comes the *woman* who has married; unless the *virgin* is a third generic class, some monstrosity with a head of its own. If "it is shameful for a *woman* to be shaven or shorn," of course it is so for a *virgin*. (Hence let the world, the rival of God, see to it, if it asserts that close-cut hair is graceful to a virgin in like manner as that flowing hair is to a boy.) To her, then, to whom it is equally *un*becoming to be shaven or shorn, it is equally becoming to be covered. If "the *woman* is the glory of the man," how much more the *virgin*, who is a glory withal to herself! If "the *woman* is of the man," and "for the sake of the man," that rib of Adam[2] was first a *virgin*. If "the woman ought to have power upon the head,"[3] all the more justly ought the *virgin*, to whom pertains the essence of the cause [assigned for this assertion]. For if [it is] on account of the angels—those, to wit, whom we read of as having fallen from God and heaven on account of concupiscence after females—who can presume that it was bodies already defiled, and relics of human lust, which such angels yearned

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 3 sqq. [2] Gen. ii. 23. [3] 1 Cor. xi. 10.

after, so as not rather to have been inflamed for *virgins*, whose bloom pleads an excuse for human lust likewise? For thus does Scripture withal suggest: "And it came to pass," it says, "when men had begun to grow more numerous upon the earth, there were withal daughters born them; but the sons of God, having descried the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all whom they elected."[1] For here the Greek name of *women* does seem to have the sense "*wives*," inasmuch as mention is made of marriage. When, then, it says "the *daughters* of men," it manifestly purports *virgins*, who would be still reckoned as belonging to their *parents*—for *wedded women* are called their *husbands'*—whereas it *could* have said "the *wives* of men:" in like manner not naming the angels adulterers, but husbands, while they take *unwedded* "daughters of men," who it has above said were "born," thus also signifying their *virginity:* first, "born;" but here, wedded to angels. Anything else I know not that they were except "born" and subsequently wedded. So perilous a face, then, ought to be shaded, which has cast stumbling-stones even so far as heaven: that, when standing in the presence of God, at whose bar it stands accused of the driving of the angels from their [native] confines, it may blush before the other angels as well; and may repress that former evil liberty of its head,—[a liberty] now to be exhibited not even before human eyes. But even if they were females already contaminated whom those angels had desired, so much the more "on account of the angels" would it have been the duty of *virgins* to be veiled, as it would have been the more possible for *virgins* to have been the cause of the angels' sinning. If, moreover, the apostle further adds the prejudgment of "nature," that redundancy of locks is an honour to a *woman*, because hair serves for a covering,[2] of course it is most of all to a *virgin* that this is a distinction; for their very adornment properly consists in this, that, by being massed together upon the crown, it wholly covers the very citadel of the head with an encirclement of hair.

[1] Gen. vi. 1, 2. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 14, 15.

CHAP. VIII.—*The argument* E CONTRARIO.

The contraries, at all events, of all these [considerations] effect that a *man* is *not* to cover his head: to wit, because he has not by nature been gifted with excess of hair; because to be shaven or shorn is not shameful to him; because it was not on his account that the angels transgressed; because his Head is Christ.[1] Accordingly, since the apostle is treating of *man* and *woman*—why the latter ought to be veiled, but the former not—it is apparent why he has been silent as to the *virgin;* allowing, to wit, the *virgin* to be understood in the *woman* by the selfsame reason by which he forbore to name the *boy* as implied in the *man;* embracing the whole order of either sex in the names proper [to each] of *woman* and *man.* So likewise Adam, while still intact, is surnamed in Genesis *man:*[2] "She shall be called," says he, "*woman,* because she hath been taken from her own *man.*" Thus was Adam a *man* before nuptial intercourse, in like manner as Eve a *woman.* On either side the apostle has made his sentence apply with sufficient plainness to the universal species of each sex; and briefly and fully, with so well-appointed a definition, he says, "*Every woman.*" What is "every," but of every class, of every order, of every condition, of every dignity, of every age?—if, [as is the case], "every" means total and entire, and in none of its parts defective. But the *virgin* is withal *a part* of the *woman.* Equally, too, with regard to not veiling the *man,* he says "every." Behold two diverse names, *Man* and *Woman*—"every one" in each case: two laws, mutually distinctive; on the one hand [a law] of veiling, on the other [a law] of baring. Therefore, if the fact that it is said "every *man*" makes it plain that the name of *man* is common even to him who is *not* yet a *man,* a stripling male; [if], moreover, since the *name* is common according to nature, the law of not veiling him who among *men* is a *virgin* is common too according to discipline: why is it that it is not consequently prejudged that, *woman* being named, every *woman-virgin* is

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 3. [2] See Gen. ii. 23.

similarly comprised in the fellowship of the *name*, so as to be comprised too in the community of the *law?* If a *virgin* is not a *woman*, neither is a *stripling* a *man*. If the *virgin* is not covered on the plea that she is not a *woman*, let the *stripling* be covered on the plea that he is not a *man*. Let identity of *virginity* share equality of indulgence. As *virgins* are not compelled to be veiled, so let *boys* not be bidden to be *un*-veiled. Why do we partly acknowledge the definition of the apostle, as absolute with regard to "every *man*," without entering upon disquisitions as to why he has not withal named the *boy;* but partly prevaricate, though it is equally absolute with regard to "every *woman?*" "If any," he says, "is contentious, we have not such a custom, nor [has] the church of God."[1] He shows that there had been some contention about this point; for the extinction whereof he uses the whole compendiousness [of language]: not naming the *virgin*, on the one hand, in order to show that there is to be no doubt about her veiling; and, on the other hand, naming "every *woman*," whereas he would have named the *virgin* [had the question been confined to her]. So, too, did the Corinthians themselves understand him. In fact, at this day the Corinthians do veil their *virgins*. What the apostles taught, their disciples approve.

CHAP. IX.—*Veiling consistent with the other rules of discipline observed by virgins and women in general.*

Let us now see whether, as we have shown the arguments drawn from nature and the matter itself to be applicable to the *virgin* as well [as to other *females*], so likewise the precepts of ecclesiastical discipline concerning *women* have an eye to the *virgin*.

It is not permitted to a *woman* to speak in the church;[2] but neither [is it permitted her] to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to claim to herself a lot in any manly function, not to say [in any] sacerdotal office. Let us inquire whether any of these be lawful to a *virgin*. If it is *not* lawful to a *virgin*, but she is subjected on the selfsame terms [as the

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 16. [2] 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

woman], and the necessity for humility is assigned her together with the *woman*, whence will this one thing be lawful to *her* which is not lawful to any and every *female?* If any is a *virgin*, and has proposed to sanctify her flesh, what prerogative does she [thereby] earn adverse to her own condition? Is the reason why it is granted her to dispense with the veil, that she may be notable and marked as she enters the church? that she may display the honour of sanctity in the liberty of her head? More worthy distinction could have been conferred on her by according her some prerogative of manly rank or office! I know plainly, that in a certain place a virgin of less than twenty years of age has been placed in the order of *widows!* whereas if the bishop had been bound to accord her any relief, he might, of course, have done it in some other way without detriment to the respect due to discipline; that such a miracle, not to say monster, should not be pointed at in the church, a *virgin-widow!* the more portentous indeed, that not even as a *widow* did she veil her head; denying herself either way; both as *virgin*, in that she is counted a *widow*, and as *widow*, in that she is styled a *virgin*. But the authority which licenses her sitting in that seat *uncovered* is the same which allows her to sit there as a *virgin:* a seat to which (besides the "sixty years"[1]) not merely "single-husbanded" [*women*]—that is, *married women*—are at length elected, but "mothers" to boot, yes, and "educators of children;" in order, forsooth, that their experimental training in all the affections may, on the one hand, have rendered them capable of readily aiding all others with counsel and comfort, and that, on the other, they may none the less have travelled down the whole course of probation whereby a *female* can be tested. So true is it, that, on the ground of her position, nothing in the way of public honour is permitted to a *virgin*.

CHAP. X.—*If the* FEMALE VIRGINS *are to be thus conspicuous, why not the* MALE *as well?*

Nor, similarly, [is it permitted] on the ground of any distinctions whatever. Otherwise, it were sufficiently dis-

[1] 1 Tim. v. 9.

courteous, that while *females*, subjected as they are throughout to men, bear in their front an honourable mark of their virginity, whereby they may be looked up to and gazed at on all sides and magnified by the brethren, so many *men-virgins*, so many voluntary eunuchs, should carry their glory in secret, carrying no token to make *them*, too, illustrious. For *they*, too, will be bound to claim some distinctions for themselves—either the feathers of the Garamantes, or else the fillets of the barbarians, or else the cicadas of the Athenians, or else the curls of the Germans, or else the tattoo-marks of the Britons; or else let the opposite course be taken, and let them lurk in the churches with head *veiled*. Sure we are that the Holy Spirit could rather have made some such concession to *males*, if He had made it to *females;* forasmuch as, besides the authority of sex, it would have been more becoming that *males* should have been honoured on the ground of continency itself likewise. The more their sex is eager and warm toward *females*, so much the more toil does the continence of [this] greater ardour involve; and therefore the worthier is it of all ostentation, if ostentation of *virginity* is dignity. For is not continence withal superior to *virginity*, whether it be the continence of the widowed, or of those who, by consent, have already renounced the common disgrace [which matrimony involves]?[1] For constancy of *virginity* is maintained by *grace;* of *continence*, by *virtue*. For great is the struggle to overcome concupiscence when you have become accustomed to such concupiscence; whereas a concupiscence the enjoyment whereof you have never known you will subdue easily, not having an adversary [in the shape of] the concupiscence of enjoyment.[2] How, then, would God have failed to make any such concession to *men* more [than to *women*], whether on the ground of nearer intimacy, as being "His own image," or on the ground

[1] See 1 Cor. vii. 5. Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. viii.; *de Ex. Cast.* c. i.

[2] So Oehler and others. But one MS. reads "concupiscentiæ fructum" for "concupiscentiam fructus;" which would make the sense somewhat plainer, and hence is perhaps less likely to be the genuine reading.

of harder toil? But if nothing [has been thus conceded] to the *male*, much more to the *female*.

CHAP. XI.—*The rule of veiling not applicable to children.*

But what we intermitted above for the sake of the subsequent discussion—not to dissipate its coherence—we will now discharge by an answer. For when we joined issue about the apostle's absolute definition, that "*every woman*" must be understood [as meaning *woman*] of even *every age*, it might be replied by the opposite side, that in that case it behoved the *virgin* to be veiled from her nativity, and from the first entry of her age [upon the roll of time].

But it is not so; but from the time when she begins to be self-conscious, and to awake to the sense of her own nature, and to emerge from the *virgin's* [sense], and to experience that novel [sensation] which belongs to the succeeding age. For withal the founders of the race, Adam and Eve, so long as they were without intelligence, went "naked;" but after they tasted of "the tree of recognition," they were first sensible of nothing more than of their cause for shame. Thus they each marked their intelligence of their own sex by a covering.[1] But even if it is "on account of the angels" that she is to be veiled,[2] doubtless the age from which the law of the veil will come into operation will be that from which "the daughters of men" were able to invite concupiscence of their persons, and to experience marriage. For a *virgin* ceases to be a *virgin* from the time that it becomes possible for her *not* to be one. And accordingly, among Israel, it is unlawful to deliver one to a husband except after the attestation by blood of her maturity;[3] thus, before this indication, the nature is unripe. Therefore if she is a *virgin* so long as she is unripe, she ceases to be a *virgin* when she is perceived to be ripe; and, as *not-virgin*, is now subject to the law, just as she is to marriage. And the *betrothed* indeed have the example of Rebecca, who, when she was being conducted—herself still unknown—to an unknown betrothed,

[1] See Gen. ii. 25, iii. 7 (in LXX. iii. 1, iii. 7).

[2] See ch. vii. above.

[3] See Deut. xxii. 13–21.

as soon as she learned that he whom she had sighted from afar was the man, awaited not the grasp of the hand, nor the meeting of the kiss, nor the interchange of salutation; but confessing what she had felt—namely, that she had been [already] wedded in spirit—denied herself to be a *virgin* by then and there veiling herself.[1] Oh *woman* already belonging to Christ's discipline! For she showed that marriage likewise, as fornication is, is transacted by gaze and mind; only that a *Rebecca* likewise some do still veil. With regard to the rest, however (that is, those who are *not* betrothed), let the procrastination of their parents, arising from straitened means or scrupulosity, look [to them]; let the vow of continence itself look [to them]. In no respect does [such procrastination] pertain to an age which is already running its own assigned course, and paying its own dues to maturity. Another secret mother, Nature, and another hidden father, Time, have wedded their daughter to their own laws. Behold that *virgin-daughter* of yours already wedded—her soul by expectancy, her flesh by transformation—for whom you are preparing a second husband! Already her voice is changed, her limbs fully formed, her "shame" everywhere clothing itself, the months paying their tributes; and do you deny her to be a *woman* whom you assert to be undergoing *womanly* experiences? If the contact of a *man* makes a *woman*, let there be no covering except after actual experience of marriage. Nay, but even among the heathens [the betrothed] are led *veiled* to the husband. But if it is at *betrothal* that they are veiled, because [then] both in body and in spirit they have mingled with a male, through the kiss and the right hands, through which means they first in spirit unsealed their modesty, through the common pledge of conscience whereby they mutually plighted their whole confusion; how much more will time veil them?—[time,] without which espoused they cannot be; and by whose urgency, without espousals, they cease to be *virgins*. Time even the heathens observe, that, in obedience to the law of nature, they may render their

[1] Gen. xxiv. 64, 65. Comp. *de Or.* c. xxii. *ad fin.*

own rights to the [different] ages. For their *females* they despatch to their businesses from [the age of] twelve years, but the *male* from two years later; decreeing puberty [to consist] in years, not in espousals or nuptials. "House-wife" one is called, albeit a *virgin*, and "house-father," albeit a stripling. By *us* not even natural [laws] are observed; as if the God of nature were some other than ours!

Chap. xii.—Womanhood *self-evident, and not to be concealed by just leaving the head bare.*

Recognise the *woman*, ay, recognise the *wedded woman*, by the testimonies both of body and of spirit, which she experiences both in conscience and in flesh. These are the earlier tablets of *natural* espousals and nuptials. Impose a veil externally upon her who has [already] a covering internally. Let her whose lower parts are not bare have her upper likewise covered. Would you know what is the authority which age carries? Set before yourself each [of these two]; one prematurely[1] compressed in *woman's* garb, and one who, though advanced in maturity, persists in *virginity* with its appropriate garb: the former will more easily be denied to be a *woman* than the latter believed a *virgin*. Such is, then, the honesty of age, that there is no overpowering it even by garb. What of the fact that these [*virgins*] of ours confess their change of age even *by* their garb; and, as soon as they have understood themselves to be *women*, withdraw themselves from *virgins*, laying aside (beginning with their head itself) their former selves: dye[2] their hair; and fasten their hair with more wanton pin; professing manifest *womanhood* with their hair parted from the front. The next thing is, they consult the looking-glass to aid their beauty, and thin down their over-exacting face with washing, perhaps withal vamp it up with cosmetics, toss their mantle about them with an air, fit tightly the multiform shoe, carry down more

[1] Oehler's "*immutare*" appears certainly to be a misprint for "*immature*."

[2] Vertunt: or perhaps "change the style of." But comp. (with Oehler) *de Cult. Fem.* l. ii. c. vi.

ample appliances to the baths. Why should I pursue particulars? But their manifest appliances alone[1] exhibit their perfect *womanhood:* yet they wish to play the *virgin* by the sole fact of leaving their head bare—denying by one single feature what they profess by their entire deportment.

CHAP. XIII.—*If unveiling be proper, why not practise it always, out of the church as well as in it?*

If on account of men[2] they adopt a false garb, let them carry out that garb fully even for that end;[3] and as they veil their head in presence of heathens, let them at all events *in* the *church* conceal their virginity, which they do veil outside the church. They fear strangers: let them stand in awe of the brethren too; or else let them have the consistent hardihood to appear as *virgins* in the streets as well, as they have the hardihood to do in the churches. I will praise their vigour, if they succeed in selling aught of virginity among the heathens withal.[4] Identity of nature abroad as at home, identity of custom in the presence of men as of the Lord, consists in identity of liberty. To what purpose, then, do they thrust their glory out of sight abroad, but expose it in the church? I demand a reason Is it to please the brethren, or God Himself? If God Himself, He is as capable of beholding whatever is done in secret, as He is just to remunerate what is done for His sole honour. In fine, He enjoins us not to trumpet forth[5] any one of those things which will merit reward in His sight, nor get compensation for them from men. But if we are prohibited from letting "our left hand know" when we bestow the gift of a single halfpenny, or any eleemosynary bounty whatever, how deep should be the darkness in which we ought to enshroud ourselves when we

[1] *i.e.* without appealing to any further proof.

[2] As distinguished from the "on account of the angels" of c. xi.

[3] *i.e.* for the sake of *the brethren*, who (after all) are *men*, as the *heathens* are (Oehler, after Rig.).

[4] *i.e.*, as Rig. quoted by Oehler explains it, in inducing the heathens to practise it.

[5] See Matt. vi. 2.

are offering God so great an oblation of our very body and our very spirit—when we are consecrating to Him our very nature! It follows, therefore, that what cannot appear to be done for God's sake (because God wills not that it be done in such a way) is done for the sake of men,—a thing, of course, primarily unlawful, as betraying a lust of glory. For glory is a thing unlawful to those whose probation consists in humiliation of every kind. And if it is by God that the virtue of continence is conferred, "why gloriest thou, as if thou have not received?"[1] If, however, you have *not* received it, "what hast thou which has not been given thee?" But by this very fact it is plain that it has not been given you *by God*—that it is not *to God* alone that you offer it. Let us see, then, whether what is *human* be firm and true.

CHAP. XIV.—*Perils to the* VIRGINS *themselves attendant upon not-veiling.*

They report a saying uttered at one time by some one when first this question was mooted, "And how shall we invite the other [*virgins*] to similar conduct?" Forsooth, it is their numbers that will make us happy, and not the grace of God and the merits of each individual! Is it *virgins* who [adorn or commend] the church in the sight of God, or the church which adorns or commends *virgins?* [Our objector] has therefore confessed that "glory" lies at the root of the matter. Well, where glory is, there is solicitation; where solicitation, there compulsion; where compulsion, there necessity; where necessity, there infirmity. Deservedly, therefore, while they do not cover their head, in order that they may be solicited for the sake of glory, they are forced to cover their bellies by the ruin resulting from infirmity. For it is emulation, not religion, which impels them. Sometimes it is that god—their belly[2]—himself; because the brotherhood readily undertakes the maintenance of *virgins*. But, moreover, it is not merely that they are ruined, but they draw after them "a long rope of sins."[3] For, after being brought forth into the midst [of the church],

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 7. [2] Comp. Phil. iii. 19. [3] See Isa. v. 18.

and elated by the public appropriation of their property,[1] and laden by the brethren with every honour and charitable bounty, so long as they do not fall,—when any sin has been committed, they meditate a deed as disgraceful as the honour was high which they had. [It is this.] If an uncovered head is a recognised mark of virginity, [then] if any *virgin* falls from the grace of *virginity*, she remains permanently with head uncovered, for fear of discovery, and walks about in a garb which then indeed is another's. Conscious of a now undoubted *womanhood*, they have the audacity to draw near to God with head bare. But the "jealous God and Lord," who has said, "Nothing covered which shall not be revealed,"[2] brings such in general before the public gaze; for confess they will not, unless betrayed by the cries of their infants themselves. But, in so far as they are "more numerous," will you not just have them suspected of the more crimes? I will say (albeit I would rather not) it is a difficult thing for one to turn *woman* once for all who fears to do so, and who, when already so turned [in secret], has the power of [still] falsely pretending to be a *virgin* under the eye of God. What audacities, again, will [such an one] venture on with regard to her womb, for fear of being detected in being a *mother* as well! God knows how many infants He has helped to perfection and through gestation till they were born sound and whole, after being long fought against by their mothers! Such *virgins* ever conceive with the readiest facility, and have the happiest deliveries, and children indeed most like to their fathers!

These crimes does a forced and unwilling *virginity* incur.

[1] So Oehler, with Rig., seems to understand "publicato bono suo." But it may be doubted whether the use of the singular "bono," and the sense in which "publicare" and "bonum" have previously occurred in this treatise, do not warrant the rendering, "and elated by the public announcement of their good deed"—in self-devotion. Comp. "omnis publicatio virginis bonæ" in c. iii., and similar phrases. Perhaps the two meanings may be intentionally implied.

[2] Matt. x. 26. Again apparently a double meaning, in the word "*revelabitus*" = "unveiled," which (of course) is the strict sense of "*re*vealed," *i.e.* "re-veiled."

The very concupiscence of non-concealment is not modest: it experiences somewhat which is no mark of a *virgin*,—the study of pleasing, of course, ay, and [of pleasing] *men*. Let her strive as much as you please with an honest mind; she must necessarily be imperilled by the public exhibition[1] of herself, while she is penetrated by the gaze of untrustworthy and multitudinous eyes, while she is tickled by pointing fingers, while she is too well loved, while she feels a warmth creep over her amid assiduous embraces and kisses. Thus the forehead hardens; thus the sense of shame wears away; thus it relaxes; thus is learned the desire of pleasing in another way!

Chap. xv.—*Of fascination.*

Nay, but true and absolute and pure *virginity* fears nothing more than itself. Even *female* eyes it shrinks from encountering. Other eyes itself has. It betakes itself for refuge to the veil of the head as to a helmet, as to a shield, to protect its glory against the blows of temptations, against the darts of scandals, against suspicions and whispers and emulation; [against] envy also itself. For there is a something even among the heathens to be apprehended, which they call Fascination, the too unhappy result of excessive praise and glory. This we sometimes interpretatively ascribe to the devil, for of him comes hatred of good; sometimes we attribute it to God, for of Him comes judgment upon haughtiness, exalting, as He does, the humble, and depressing the elated.[2] The more holy virgin, accordingly, will fear, even under the name of fascination, on the one hand the adversary, on the other God,—the envious disposition of the former, the censorial light of the latter; and will joy in being known to herself alone and to God. But even if she has been recognised by any other, she is wise to have blocked up the pathway against temptations. For who will have the audacity to intrude with his eyes upon a shrouded face? a face without feeling? a face, so to say, morose?

[1] Comp. the note above on "*publicato bono suo.*"

[2] Comp. Ps. cxlvii. (in LXX. and Vulg. cxlvi.) 6; Luke i. 52.

Any evil cogitation whatsoever will be broken by the very severity. She who conceals her *virginity*, by that fact denies even her *womanhood*.

CHAP. XVI.—*Tertullian, having shown his defence to be consistent with Scripture, Nature, and Discipline, appeals to the* VIRGINS *themselves.*

Herein consists the defence of our opinion, in accordance with Scripture, in accordance with Nature, in accordance with Discipline. Scripture founds the law; Nature joins to attest it; Discipline exacts it. Which of these [three] does a custom founded on [mere] opinion appear in behalf of? or what is the colour of the opposite view? God's is Scripture; God's is Nature; God's is Discipline. Whatever is contrary to these is not God's. If Scripture is uncertain, Nature is manifest; and concerning Nature's testimony Scripture cannot be uncertain.[1] If there is a doubt about Nature, Discipline points out what is more sanctioned by God. For nothing is to Him dearer than humility; nothing more acceptable than modesty; nothing more offensive than "glory" and the study of men-pleasing. Let that, accordingly, be to you Scripture, and Nature, and Discipline, which you shall find to have been sanctioned by God; just as you are bidden to "examine all things, and diligently follow whatever is better."[2]

It remains likewise that we turn to [the *virgins*] themselves, to induce them to accept these [suggestions] the more willingly. I pray you, be you mother, or sister, or *virgin*-daughter —let me address you according to the names proper to your years—veil your head: if a mother, for your sons' sakes; if a sister, for your brethren's sakes; if a daughter, for your fathers' sakes. All ages are perilled in your person. Put on the panoply of modesty; surround yourself with the stockade of bashfulness; rear a rampart for your sex, which must neither allow your own eyes egress nor ingress to other people's. Wear the full garb of *woman*, to preserve the standing of *virgin*. Belie somewhat of your inward con-

[1] See 1 Cor. xi. 14, above quoted. [2] See 1 Thess. v. 21.

sciousness, in order to exhibit the truth to God alone. And yet you do *not* belie yourself in appearing as a bride. For wedded you are to Christ: to Him you have surrendered your flesh; to Him you have espoused your maturity. Walk in accordance with the will of your Espoused. Christ is He who bids the espoused and wives of others veil themselves;[1] [and,] of course, much more His own.

CHAP. XVII.—*An appeal to the* MARRIED WOMEN.

But we admonish you, too, *women* of the second [degree of] modesty, who have fallen into wedlock, not to outgrow so far the discipline of the veil, not even in a moment of an hour, as, because you cannot *refuse* it, to take some other means to *nullify* it, by going neither covered nor bare. For some, with their mitres and woollen bands, do not *veil* their head, but bind it up; protected, indeed, in front, but, where the head properly lies, bare. Others are to a certain extent covered over the region of the brain with linen coifs of small dimensions—I suppose for fear of pressing the head—and not reaching quite to the ears. If they are so weak in their hearing as not to be able to hear through a covering, I pity them. Let them know that the whole head constitutes "the *woman*."[2] Its limits and boundaries reach as far as the place where the robe begins. The region of the veil is co-extensive with the space covered by the hair when unbound; in order that the necks too may be encircled. For it is *they* which must be subjected, for the sake of which "power" ought to be "had on the head:" the veil is their yoke. Arabia's heathen *females* will be your judges, who cover not only the head, but the face also, so entirely, that they are content, with one eye free, to enjoy rather half the light than to prostitute the entire face. A *female* would rather see than be seen. And for this reason a certain Roman queen said that they were most unhappy, in that they could more easily fall in love than be fallen in love with; whereas they are rather *happy* in their immunity from that second (and indeed more frequent) infelicity, that

[1] See 1 Cor. xi. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 6, etc.

females are more apt to be fallen in love with than to fall in love. And the modesty of heathen discipline, indeed, is more simple, and, so to say, more barbaric. To *us* the Lord has, even by revelations, measured the space for the veil to extend over. For a certain sister of ours was thus addressed by an angel, beating her neck, as if in applause: "Elegant neck, and deservedly bare! it is well for thee to unveil thyself from the head right down to the loins, lest withal this freedom of thy neck profit thee not!" And, of course, what you have said to one you have said to all. But how severe a chastisement will *they* likewise deserve, who, amid [the recital of] the Psalms, and at any mention of [the name of] God, continue uncovered; [who,] even when about to spend time in prayer itself, with the utmost readiness place a fringe, or a tuft, or any thread whatever, on the crown of their heads, and suppose themselves to be covered? Of so small extent do they falsely imagine their head to be! Others, who think the palm of their hand plainly greater than any fringe or thread, misuse their head no less; like a certain [creature], more beast than bird, albeit winged, with small head, long legs, and moreover of erect carriage. She, they say, when she has to hide, thrusts away into a thicket her head alone—plainly the *whole* of it, [though]—leaving all the rest of herself exposed. Thus, while she is secure in *head*, [but] bare in her larger parts, she is taken wholly, head and all. Such will be their plight withal, covered as they are less than is useful.

It is incumbent, then, at all times and in every place, to walk mindful of the law, prepared and equipped in readiness to meet every mention of God; who, if He be in the heart, will be recognised as well in the head of *females*. To such as read these [exhortations] with good will, to such as prefer Utility to Custom, may peace and grace from our Lord Jesus Christ redound: as likewise to Septimius Tertullianus, whose this tractate is.

ON THE ASCETICS' MANTLE.

CHAP. I.—*Time changes nations' dresses—and fortunes.*

MEN of Carthage, ever princes of Africa, ennobled by ancient memories, blest with modern felicities, I rejoice that times are so prosperous with you that you have leisure to spend and pleasure to find in criticising dress. These are the "piping times of peace" and plenty. Blessings rain from the empire and from the sky. Still, you too of old time wore your garments—your tunics—of another shape; and indeed they were in repute for the skill of the weft, and the harmony of the hue, and the due proportion of the size, in that they were neither prodigally lengthy across the shins, nor immodestly scanty between the knees, nor niggardly to the arms, nor tight to the hands, but, without being shadowed by even a girdle arranged to divide the folds, they stood on men's backs with quadrate symmetry. The garment of the mantle extrinsically—itself too quadrangular—thrown back on either shoulder, and meeting closely round the neck in the gripe of the buckle, used to repose on the shoulders. Its counterpart is now the priestly dress, sacred to Æsculapius, whom you now call your own. So, too, in your immediate vicinity, the sister State[1] used to clothe [her citizens]; and wherever else in Africa Tyre [has settled].[2] But when the urn of worldly[3] lots varied, and God favoured the Romans, the sister State, indeed, of her own choice hastened to effect a change; in order that when Scipio put in at her ports she might already beforehand have greeted him in the way of

[1] Utica (Oehler). [2] *i.e.* in Adrumetum (Oehler). [3] Sæcularium.

dress, precocious in her Romanizing. To you, however, after the benefit in which your injury resulted, as exempting you from the infirmity of age, not [deposing you] from your height of eminence,—after Gracchus and his foul omens, after Lepidus and his rough jests, after Pompeius and his triple altars, and Cæsar and his long delays, when Statilius Taurus reared your ramparts, and Sentius Saturninus pronounced the solemn form of your inauguration,—while concord lends her aid, the *gown* is offered. Well! what a circuit has it taken! from Pelasgians to Lydians;[1] from Lydians to Romans: in order that from the shoulders of the sublimer people it should descend to embrace Carthaginians! Henceforth, finding your tunic too long, you suspend it on a dividing cincture; and the redundancy of your now smooth mantle[2] you support by gathering it together fold upon fold; and, with whatever other garment social condition or dignity or season clothes you, the mantle, at any rate, which used to be worn by all ranks and conditions among you, you not only are unmindful of, but even deride. For my own part, I wonder not [thereat], in the face of a more ancient evidence [of your forgetfulness]. For the ram withal—not that which Laberius[3] [calls]

"Back-twisted-horned, wool-skinned, drag-testicled;"

but a beam-like engine it is, which does military service in battering walls—never before poised by any, the redoubted Carthage,

"Keenest in pursuits of war,"[4]

is said to have been the first of all to have equipped for the oscillatory work of pendulous impetus;[5] modelling the power of her engine after the choleric fury of the head-avenging beast.[6] When, however, their country's fortunes are at the last gasp, and the ram, now turned Roman, is doing his deeds of

[1] *i.e.* Etruscans, who were supposed to be of Lydian origin.
[2] *i.e.* your gown (*toga*).
[3] A Roman knight and mime-writer.
[4] Virg. *Æn.* i. 14.
[5] Or, "attack."
[6] Cap*ut* vindicantis. But some read cap*ite*: "which avenges itself with its head."

daring against the ramparts which erst were his own, forthwith the Carthaginians stood dumbfounded as at a "novel" and "strange" ingenuity:

> "So much doth Time's long age avail to change!"[1]

Thus, in short, it is that the mantle, too, is not recognised.

CHAP. II.—*The law of change, or mutation, universal.*

Draw we now our material from some other source, lest Punichood either blush or else grieve in the midst of Romans. To change her habit is, at all events, the stated function of entire nature. The very world[2] itself (this which we inhabit) meantime discharges it. See to it Anaximander, if he thinks there are more [worlds]: see to it, whoever else [thinks there exists another] anywhere at the region of the Meropes, as Silenus prates in the ears of Midas,[3] apt [as those ears are[4]], it must be admitted, for even huger fables. Nay, even if Plato thinks there exists one of which this of ours is the image, that likewise must necessarily have similarly to undergo mutation; inasmuch as, if it is a "world,"[5] it will consist of diverse substances and offices, answerable to the form of that which is here the "world:"[5] for "world" it will not be if it be not just as the "world" is. Things which, in diversity, tend to unity, are diverse *by demutation.* In short, it is their vicissitudes which federate the discord of their diversity. Thus it will be *by mutation* that every "world"[5] will exist whose corporate structure is the result of diversities, and whose attemperation is the result of vicissitudes. At all events, this hostelry of ours[6] is versiform,—a fact which is patent to eyes that are closed, or utterly Homeric.[7] Day and night revolve in turn. The sun varies

[1] See Virg. *Æn.* iii. 415 (Oehler).
[2] Mundus.
[3] See *adv. Herm.* c. xxv. *ad fin.* (Oehler).
[4] As being "the ears of an ass."
[5] Mundus. Oehler's pointing is disregarded.
[6] Metatio nostra, *i.e.* the world.
[7] *i.e.* blind. Cf. Milton, *P. L.* iii. 35, with the preceding and subsequent context.

by annual stations, the moon by monthly phases. The stars — distinct in their confusion — sometimes drop, sometimes resuscitate, somewhat. The circuit of the heaven is now resplendent with serenity, now dismal with cloud; or else rain-showers come rushing down, and whatever missiles [mingle] with them: thereafter [follows] a slight sprinkling, and then again brilliance. So, too, the sea has an ill repute for honesty; while at one time, the breezes equably swaying it, tranquillity gives it the semblance of probity, calm gives it the semblance of even temper; and then all of a sudden it heaves restlessly with mountain-waves. Thus, too, if you survey the earth, loving to clothe herself seasonably, you would nearly be ready to deny her identity, when, remembering her green, you behold her yellow, and will ere long see her hoary too. Of the rest of her adornment also, what is there which is not subject to interchanging mutation—the higher ridges of her mountains by decursion, the veins of her fountains by disappearance, and the pathways of her streams by alluvial formation? There was a time when her whole orb, withal, underwent mutation, overrun by all waters. To this day marine conchs and tritons' horns sojourn as foreigners on the mountains, eager to prove to Plato that even the heights have undulated. But withal, by ebbing out, her orb again underwent a formal mutation; another, but the same. Even now her shape undergoes local mutations, when [some particular] spot is damaged; when among her islands Delos is now no more, Samos a heap of sand, and the Sibyl [is thus proved] no liar;[1] when in the Atlantic [the isle] that was equal in size to Libya or Asia is sought in vain;[2] when formerly a side of Italy, severed to the centre by the shivering shock of the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas, leaves Sicily as its relics; when that total swoop of discission, whirling backwards the contentious encounters of the mains, invested the

[1] Alluding to the Sibylline oracles, in which we read (l. iii.), Καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος ἔσῃ, καὶ Δῆλος ἄδηλος· and again (l. iv.), Δῆλος οὐκ ἔτι δῆλος, ἄδηλα δὲ πάντα τοῦ Δήλου (Oehler).

[2] See *Apolog.* c. xi. *med.*; *ad Nat.* l. i. c. ix. *med.*; Plato, *Timæus*, pp. 24, 25 (Oehler).

sea with a novel vice, the vice not of spuing out wrecks, but of devouring them! The continent as well suffers from heavenly or else from inherent forces. Glance at Palestine. Where Jordan's river is the arbiter of boundaries, [behold] a vast waste, and a bereaved region, and bootless land! And once [there were there] cities, and flourishing peoples, and the soil yielded its fruits.[1] Afterwards, since God is a Judge, impiety earned showers of fire: Sodom's day is over, and Gomorrah is no more; and all is ashes; and the neighbour sea no less than the soil experiences a living death! Such a cloud overcast Etruria, burning down her ancient Volsinii, to teach Campania (all the more by the eruption of her Pompeii) to look expectantly upon her own mountains. But far be [the repetition of such catastrophes]! Would that Asia, withal, were by this time without cause for anxiety about the soil's voracity! Would, too, that Africa had once for all quailed before the devouring chasm, expiated by the treacherous absorption of one single camp![2] Many other such detriments besides have made innovations upon the fashion of our orb, and moved [particular] spots [in it]. Very great also has been the licence of wars. But it is no less irksome to recount sad details than [to recount] the vicissitudes of kingdoms, [and to show] how frequent have been *their* mutations, from Ninus, the progeny of Belus, onwards; if indeed Ninus was the first to have a kingdom, as the ancient profane authorities assert. Beyond his time the pen is not wont [to travel], in general, among you [heathens]. From the Assyrians, it may be, the histories of "recorded time"[3] begin to open. We, however, who are habitual readers of *divine* histories, are masters of the subject from the nativity of the universe[4] itself. But I prefer, at the present time,

[1] Oehler's apt conjecture, "et solum sua dabat," is substituted for the unintelligible "et solus audiebat" of the MSS., which Rig. skilfully but ineffectually tries to explain.

[2] The "camp" of Cambyses, said by Herod. (iii. 26) to have been swallowed up in the Libyan Syrtes (Salm. in Oehler). It was one detachment of his army. Milton tells similar tales of the "Serbonian bog." *P. L.* ii. 591–594.

[3] Ævi. [4] Mundi.

joyous details, inasmuch as things joyous withal are subject to mutation. In short, whatever the sea has washed away, the heaven burned down, the earth undermined, the sword shorn down, reappears at some other time by the turn of compensation.[1] For in primitive days not only was the earth, for the greater part of her circuit, empty and uninhabited; but if any particular race had seized upon any part, it existed for itself alone. And so, understanding at last that all things worshipped themselves, [the earth] consulted to weed and scrape her copiousness [of inhabitants], in one place densely packed, in another abandoning their posts; in order that thence (as it were from grafts and settings) peoples from peoples, cities from cities, might be planted throughout every region of her orb.[2] Transmigrations were made by the swarms of redundant races. The exuberance of the Scythians fertilizes the Persians; the Phœnicians gush out into Africa; the Phrygians give birth to the Romans; the seed of the Chaldeans is led out into Egypt; subsequently, when transferred thence, it becomes the Jewish race.[3] So, too, the posterity of Hercules, in like wise, proceed to occupy the Peloponnesus for the behoof of Temenus. So, again, the Ionian comrades of Neleus furnish Asia with new cities: so, again, the Corinthians, with Archias, fortify Syracuse. But antiquity is by this time a vain thing [to refer to], when our own careers are before our eyes. How large a portion of our orb has the present age[4] re-formed! how many cities has the triple power

[1] "Alias versura compensati re*dit;*" unless we may read "re*ddit,*" and take "versura" as a nominative: "the turn of compensation at some other time restores."

[2] This rendering, which makes *the earth* the subject, appears to give at least an intelligible sense to this hopelessly corrupt passage. Oehler's pointing is disregarded; and his rendering not strictly adhered to, as being too forced. If for Oehler's conjectural "se demum intellegens" we might read "se *debere* demum intellegens," or simply "se *debere* intellegens," a good sense might be made, thus: "understanding at last" (or, simply, "understanding") "that it was her duty to cultivate *all* [parts of her surface]."

[3] Comp. Gen. xi. 26–xii. 5 with Acts vii. 2–4, 15, 45, and xiii. 17–19.

[4] Sæculum.

of our existing empire either produced, or else augmented, or else restored! While God favours so many Augusti unitedly, how many populations have been transferred to other localities! how many peoples reduced! how many orders restored to their ancient splendour! how many barbarians baffled! In truth, our orb is the admirably cultivated estate of this empire; every aconite of hostility eradicated; and the cactus and bramble of clandestinely crafty familiarity[1] wholly uptorn; and [the orb itself] delightsome beyond the orchard of Alcinoüs and the rosary of Midas. Praising, therefore, our *orb* in its mutations, why do you point the finger of scorn at a *man?*

Chap. III.—*Beasts similarly subject to the law of mutation.*

Beasts, too, instead of a *garment*, change their *form*. And yet the peacock withal has plumage for a garment, and a garment indeed of the choicest; nay, in the bloom of his neck richer than any purple, and in the effulgence of his back more gilded than any edging, and in the sweep of his tail more flowing than any train; many-coloured, diverse-coloured, and versi-coloured; never itself, ever another, albeit ever itself when other; in a word, mutable as oft as moveable. The serpent, too, deserves to be mentioned, albeit not in the same breath as the peacock; for he too wholly changes what has been allotted him—his hide and his age: if it is true, [as it is,] that when he has felt the creeping of old age throughout him, he squeezes himself into confinement; crawls into a cave and out of his skin simultaneously; and, clean shorn on the spot, immediately on crossing the threshold leaves his slough behind him then and there, and uncoils himself in a new youth: with his scales his years, too, are repudiated. The hyena, if you observe, is of an annual sex, alternately masculine and feminine. I say nothing of the stag, because himself withal, the witness of his own age,

[1] Oehler understands this of *Clodius Albinus*, and the *Augusti* mentioned above to be Severus and his two sons Antoninus and Geta. But see Kaye, pp. 36–39 (ed. 3, 1845).

feeding on the serpent, languishes—from the effect of the poison—into youth. There is, withal,

> "A tardigrade field-haunting quadruped,
> Humble and rough."

The tortoise of Pacuvius, you think? No. There is another beastling which the versicle fits; in size, one of the moderate exceedingly, but a grand name. If, without previously knowing him, you hear tell of a chameleon, you will at once apprehend something yet more huge united with a lion. But when you stumble upon him, generally in a vineyard, his whole bulk sheltered beneath a vine leaf, you will forthwith laugh at the egregious audacity of the name, inasmuch as there is no moisture even in his body, though in far more minute creatures the body *is* liquefied. The chameleon is a living pellicule. His headkin begins straight from his spine, for neck he has none: and thus reflection[1] is hard for him; but, in circumspection, his eyes are outdarting, nay, they are revolving points of light. Dull and weary, he scarce raises from the ground, but drags, his footstep amazedly, and moves forward,—he rather demonstrates, than takes, a step: ever fasting, to boot, yet never fainting; agape he feeds; heaving, bellowslike, he ruminates; his food wind. Yet withal the chameleon is able to effect a total self-mutation, and that is all. For, whereas his colour is properly one, yet, whenever anything has approached him, then he blushes. To the chameleon alone has been granted—as our common saying has it—to sport with his own hide.

Much had to be said in order that, after due preparation, we might arrive at *man*. From whatever beginning you admit him as springing, naked at all events and ungarmented he came from his fashioner's hand: afterwards, at length, without waiting for permission, he possesses himself, by a premature grasp, of wisdom. Then and there hastening to forecover what, in his newly made body, it was not yet due to modesty [to forecover], he surrounds himself meantime with fig-leaves: subsequently, on being driven from the

[1] Reflecti: perhaps a play upon the word = to turn back, or (mentally) to reflect.

confines of his birthplace because he had sinned, he went, skinclad, to the world[1] as to a mine.[2]

But these are secrets, nor does their knowledge appertain to all. Come, let us hear from your own store—[a store] which the Egyptians narrate, and Alexander[3] digests, and his mother reads—touching the time of Osiris,[4] when Ammon, rich in sheep, comes to him out of Libya. In short, they tell us that Mercury, when among them, delighted with the softness of a ram which he had chanced to stroke, flayed a little ewe; and, while he persistently tries and (as the pliancy of the material invited him) thins out the thread by assiduous traction, wove it into the shape of the pristine net which he had joined with strips of linen. But *you* have preferred to assign all the management of wool-work and structure of the loom to Minerva; whereas a more diligent workshop was presided over by Arachne. Thenceforth material [was abundant]. Nor do I speak of the sheep of Miletus, and Selge, and Altinum, or of those for which Tarentum or Boetica is famous, with nature for their dyer: but [I speak of the fact] that shrubs afford you clothing, and the grassy parts of flax, losing their greenness, turn white by washing. Nor was it enough to *plant* and *sow* your tunic, unless it had likewise fallen to your lot to *fish* for raiment. For the sea withal yields fleeces, inasmuch as the more brilliant shells of a mossy wooliness furnish a hairy stuff. Further: it is no secret that the silkworm—a species of wormling it is—presently reproduces safe and sound [the fleecy threads] which, by drawing them through the *air*, she distends more skilfully than the dial-like webs of spiders, and then devours. In like manner, if you kill it, the threads which you coil are forthwith instinct with vivid colour.

[1] Orbi.

[2] *i.e.* a place which he was to work, as condemned criminals worked mines. Comp. *de Pu.* c. xxii. *sub init.;* and see Gen. ii. 25 (in LXX. iii. 1), iii. 7, 21–24.

[3] Alexander Polyhistor, who dedicated his books on the affairs of the Phrygians and Egyptians to his mother (Rig. in Oehler).

[4] The Egyptian Liber, or Bacchus. See *de Cor.* c. vii. (Rig. in Oehler).

The ingenuities, therefore, of the tailoring art, superadded to, and following up, so abundant a store of materials—first with a view to covering humanity, where Necessity led the way; and subsequently with a view to adorning withal, ay, and inflating it, where Ambition followed in the wake—have promulgated the various forms of garments. Of which forms, part are worn by particular nations, without being common to the rest; part, on the other hand, universally, as being useful to all: as, for instance, this Mantle, albeit it is more Greek [than Latin], has yet by this time found, in speech, a home in Latium. With the word the garment entered. And accordingly the very man who used to sentence Greeks to extrusion from the city, but learned (when he was now advanced in years) their *alphabet* and *speech*—the selfsame Cato, by baring his shoulder at the time of his prætorship, showed no less favour to the Greeks by his mantle-like *garb*.

Chap. iv.—Change *not always* improvement.

Why, now, if Romanism is salvation to every one, are you nevertheless Greek to a degree, even in points not honourable? Or else, if it is not so, whence in the world is it that provinces which have had a better training, provinces which nature adapted rather for surmounting by hard struggling the difficulties of the soil, derive the pursuits of the wrestling-ground—pursuits which fall into a sad old age[1] and labour in vain—and the unction with mud,[2] and the rolling in sand, and the dry dietary? Whence comes it that some of our Numidians, with their long locks made longer by horsetail plumes, learn to bid the barber shave their skin close, and to exempt their crown alone from the knife? Whence comes it that men shaggy and hirsute learn to teach the resin[3] to feed on their arms with such rapacity, the tweezers to weed

[1] Male senescentia. Rig. (as quoted by Oehler) seems to interpret, "*which entail* a feeble old age." Oehler himself seems to take it to mean "pursuits which are growing very old, and toiling to no purpose."

[2] Or, as some take it, *with wax* (Oehler).

[3] Used as a depilatory.

their chin so thievishly? A prodigy it is, that all this should be done without the Mantle! To the Mantle appertains this whole Asiatic practice! What hast thou, Libya, and thou, Europe, to do with athletic refinements, which thou knowest not how to dress? For, in sooth, what kind of thing is it to practise Greekish depilation more than Greekish attire?

The transfer of dress approximates to culpability just in so far as it is not custom, but nature, which suffers the change. There is a wide enough difference between the honour due to time, and religion. Let Custom show fidelity to Time, Nature to God. To Nature, accordingly, the Larissæan hero[1] gave a shock by turning into a virgin; he who had been reared on the marrows of wild beasts (whence, too, was derived the composition of his name, because he had been a stranger with his lips to the taste of teats[2]); he who had been reared by a rocky and wood-haunting and monstrous trainer[3] in a stony school. You would bear patiently, if it were in a *boy's* case, his mother's solicitude; but he at all events was already be-haired, he at all events had already secretly given proof of his manhood to some one,[4] when he consents to wear the flowing stole,[5] to dress his hair, to cultivate his skin, to consult the mirror, to bedizen his neck; effeminated even as to his ear by boring, whereof his bust at Sigeum still retains the trace. Plainly afterwards he turned soldier: for necessity restored him his sex. The clarion had sounded of battle: nor were arms far to seek. "The steel's self," says [Homer], "attracteth the hero."[6] Else if, after that incentive as well as before, he had persevered in his maidenhood, he might withal have been married! Behold, accordingly, mutation! A monster, I call him,—a double monster: from man to woman; by and by from woman to

[1] Achilles.

[2] Ἀχιλλεύς: from ἀ privative, and χεῖλος, the lip. See Oehler.

[3] The Centaur Chiron, namely.

[4] Deianira, of whom he had begotten Pyrrhus (Oehler).

[5] See the note on this word in *de Idol.* c. xviii.

[6] Hom. *Od.* xvi. 294 (Oehler).

man: whereas neither ought the truth to have been belied, nor the deception confessed. Each fashion of changing was evil: the one opposed to nature, the other contrary to safety.

Still more disgraceful was the case when lust transfigured a man in his dress, than when some maternal dread did so: and yet adoration is offered by you to me, whom you ought to blush at,—that Clubshaftandhidebearer, who exchanged for womanly attire the whole proud heritage of his name! Such licence was granted to the secret haunts of Lydia,[1] that Hercules was prostituted in the person of Omphale, and Omphale in that of Hercules. Where were Diomed and his gory mangers? where Busiris and his funereal altars? where Geryon, triply one? The club preferred still to reek with their brains when it was being pestered with unguents! The now veteran [stain of the] Hydra's and of the Centaurs' blood upon the shafts was gradually eradicated by the pumice-stone, familiar to the hair-pin! while voluptuousness insulted over the fact that, after transfixing monsters, they should perchance sew a coronet! No sober woman even, or heroine[2] of any note, would have adventured her shoulders beneath the hide of such a beast, unless after long softening and smoothening down and deodorization (which in Omphale's house, I hope, was effected by balsam and fenugreek-salve: I suppose the mane, too, submitted to the comb) for fear of getting her tender neck imbued with lionly toughness. The yawning mouth stuffed with hair, the jaw-teeth overshadowed amid the forelocks, the whole outraged visage, would have roared had it been able. Nemea, at all events (if the spot has any presiding genius), groaned: for then she looked around, and saw that she had lost her lion. What sort of being the said Hercules was in Omphale's silk, the description of Omphale in Hercules' hide has inferentially depicted.

[1] Jos. Mercer, quoted by Oehler, appears to take the meaning to be, "to his clandestine Lydian concubine;" but that rendering does not seem necessary.

[2] Viraginis; but perhaps = virginis. See the Vulg. in Gen. ii. 23.

But, again, he who had formerly rivalled the Tirynthian[1] —the pugilist Cleomachus—subsequently, at Olympia, after losing by efflux his masculine sex by an incredible mutation —bruised within his skin and without, worthy to be wreathed among the "Fullers" even of Novius,[2] and deservedly commemorated by the mimographer Lentulus in his *Catinensians* —did, of course, not only cover with bracelets the traces left by [the bands of] the cestus, but likewise supplanted the coarse ruggedness of his athlete's cloak with some superfinely wrought tissue.

Of Physco and Sardanapalus I must be silent, whom, but for their eminence in lusts, no one would recognise as kings. But I must be silent, for fear lest even *they* set up a muttering concerning some of your Cæsars, equally lost to shame; for fear lest a mandate have been given to canine[3] constancy to point to a Cæsar impurer than Physco, softer than Sardanapalus, and indeed a second Nero.[4]

Nor less warmly does the force of *vainglory* also work for the mutation of *clothing*, even while *manhood* is preserved. Every affection is a heat: when, however, it is blown to [the flame of] *affectation*, forthwith, by the blaze of glory, it is an *ardour*. From this fuel, therefore, you see a great king[5] — inferior only to his glory—seething. He had conquered the Median race, and was conquered by Median garb. Doffing the triumphal mail, he degraded himself into the captive trousers! The breast dissculptured with scaly bosses, by covering it with a transparent texture he bared; panting still after the work of war, and (as it were) softening, he extinguished it with the ventilating silk! Not sufficiently swelling of spirit was the Macedonian, unless he had likewise found delight in a highly inflated garb: only that phi-

[1] *i.e.* Hercules.

[2] Or, "which are now attributed to Novius." Novius was a writer of that kind of farce called "Atellanæ fabulæ;" and one of his farces—or one attributed to him in Tertullian's day—was called "The Fullers."

[3] *i.e.* cynical; comp. *de Pa.* c. ii. *ad init.*

[4] *i.e.* Domitian, called by Juv. *calvum Neronem*, Sat. iv. 38.

[5] Alexander.

losophers withal (I believe) themselves affect somewhat of that kind; for I hear that there *has* been [such a thing as] philosophizing in purple. If a philosopher [appears] in purple, why not in gilded slippers[1] too? For a Tyrian[2] to be shod in anything but gold, is by no means consonant with Greek habits. Some one will say, "Well, but there was another[3] who wore silk indeed, and shod himself in *brazen* sandals." Worthily, indeed, in order that at the bottom of his Bacchantian raiment he might make some tinkling sound, did he walk in cymbals! But if, at that moment, Diogenes had been barking from his tub, he would not [have trodden on him[4]] with muddy feet—as the Platonic couches witness—but would have carried Empedocles down bodily to the secret recesses of the Cloacinæ;[5] in order that he who had madly thought himself a celestial being might, as a god, salute first his sisters,[6] and afterwards men. Such garments, therefore, as alienate from nature and modesty, let it be allowed to be just to eye fixedly and point at with the finger and expose to ridicule by a nod. Just so, if a man were to wear a dainty robe trailing on the ground with Menander-like effeminacy, he would hear applied to himself that which the comedian says, "What sort of a cloak is that maniac wasting?" For, now that the contracted brow of censorial vigilance is long since smoothed down, so far as reprehension is concerned, promiscuous usage offers to our gaze freedmen in equestrian garb, branded slaves in that of gentlemen, the notoriously infamous in that of the freeborn, clowns in that of city-folk, buffoons in that of lawyers, rustics in regimentals; the corpse-bearer, the pimp, the gladiator trainer,

[1] Comp. *de Idol.* c. viii. *med.*

[2] *i.e.* one who affects Tyrian dress—dresses in Tyrian purple.

[3] Empedocles (Salm. in Oehler).

[4] I have adopted Oehler's suggestion, and inserted these words.

[5] *i.e.* of Cloacina or Cluacina (= "the Purifier," a name of Venus; comp. White and Riddle), which Tertullian either purposely connects with "cloaca," a sewer (with which, indeed, it may be *really* connected, as coming derivatively from the same root), and takes to mean "the nymphs of the sewers" apparently.

[6] The nymphs above named (Oehler).

clothe themselves as you do. Turn, again, to females. You have to behold what Cæcina Severus pressed upon the grave attention of the senate—matrons stoleless in public. In fact, the penalty inflicted by the decrees of the augur Lentulus upon any matron who had thus cashiered herself was the same as for fornication; inasmuch as certain matrons had sedulously promoted the disuse of garments which were the evidences and guardians of dignity, as being impediments to the practising of prostitution. But now, in their self-prostitution, in order that they may the more readily be approached, they have abjured stole, and chemise, and bonnet, and cap; yes, and even the very litters and sedans in which they used to be kept in privacy and secrecy even in public. But while one extinguishes her proper adornments, another blazes forth such as are not hers. Look at the street-walkers, the shambles of popular lusts; [look] also at the female self-abusers with their sex; and, if it is better to withdraw your eyes from such shameful spectacles of publicly slaughtered chastity, yet do but look with eyes askance, [and] you will at once see [them to be] matrons! And, while the overseer of brothels airs her swelling silk, and consoles her neck—more impure than her haunt—with necklaces, and inserts in the armlets (which even matrons themselves would, of the guerdons bestowed upon brave men, without hesitation have appropriated) hands privy to all that is shameful, [while] she fits on her impure leg the pure white or pink shoe; why do you not stare at such garbs? or, again, at those which falsely plead religion as the supporter of their novelty? while for the sake of an all-white dress, and the distinction of a fillet, and the privilege of a helmet, some are initiated into [the mysteries of] Ceres; while, on account of an opposite hankering after sombre raiment, and a gloomy woollen covering upon the head, others run mad in Bellona's temple; while the attraction of surrounding themselves with a tunic more broadly striped with purple, and casting over their shoulders a cloak of Galatian scarlet, commends Saturn [to the affections of others]. When this Mantle itself, arranged with more rigorous care, and sandals after the Greek model, serve

to flatter Æsculapius,[1] how much more should you then accuse and assail it with your eyes, as being guilty of superstition — albeit superstition simple and unaffected? Certainly, when first it clothes this wisdom[2] which renounces superstitions with all their vanities, then most assuredly is the Mantle, above all the garments in which you array your gods and goddesses, an august robe; and, above all the caps and tufts of your Salii and Flamines, a sacerdotal attire. Lower your eyes, I advise you, [and] reverence the garb, on the one ground, meantime, [without waiting for others,] of being a renouncer of your error.

Chap. v.—*Virtues of the Mantle. It pleads in its own defence.*

"Still," say you, "must we thus change from gown[3] to Mantle?" Why, what if from diadem and sceptre? Did Anacharsis change otherwise, when to the royalty of Scythia he preferred philosophy? Grant that there be no [miraculous] signs in proof of your transformation for the better: there is somewhat which this your garb can do. For, to begin with the simplicity of its uptaking: it needs no tedious arrangement. Accordingly, there is no necessity for any artist formally to dispose its wrinkled folds from the beginning a day beforehand, and then to reduce them to a more finished elegance, and to assign to the guardianship of the stretchers[4] the whole figment of the massed boss; subsequently, at daybreak, first gathering up by the aid of a girdle the tunic which it were better to have woven of more moderate length [in the first instance], and, again scrutinizing the boss, and rearranging any disarrangement, to make one part prominent on the left, but (making now an end of the folds) to draw backwards from the shoulders the circuit of it whence the hollow is formed, and, leaving the right shoulder free, heap it still upon the left, with another similar set of folds reserved for the back, and thus clothe the man with a burden! In short, I will persistently ask your own conscience, What is your

[1] *i.e.* are worn by his votaries. [2] *i.e.* Christianity. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6, 7.
[3] Toga. [4] Or, "forcipes."

first sensation in wearing your gown? Do you feel yourself clad, or laded? wearing a garment, or carrying it? If you shall answer negatively, I will follow you home; I will see what you hasten to do immediately after crossing your threshold. There is really no garment the doffing whereof congratulates a man more than the gown's does.[1] Of shoes we say nothing —implements as they are of torture proper to the gown, most uncleanly protection to the feet, yes, and false too. For who would not find it expedient, in cold and heat, to stiffen with feet bare rather than in a shoe with feet bound? A mighty munition for the tread have the Venetian shoe-factories provided in the shape of effeminate boots! Well, but, than the Mantle nothing is more expedite, even if it be double, like that of Crates.[2] Nowhere is there a compulsory waste of time in dressing yourself [in it], seeing that its whole art consists in loosely covering. That can be effected by a single circumjection, and one in no case inelegant:[3] thus it wholly covers every part of the man at once. The shoulder it either exposes or encloses:[4] in other respects it adheres to the shoulder; it has no surrounding support; it has no surrounding tie; it has no anxiety as to the fidelity with which its folds keep their place; easily it manages, easily readjusts itself: even in the doffing it is consigned to no cross until the morrow. If any shirt is worn beneath it, the torment of a girdle is superfluous: if anything in the way of shoeing is worn, it is a most cleanly work;[5] or else the feet are rather bare,—

[1] Of course the meaning is, "on the doffing of which a man congratulates himself more," etc.; but Tertullian as it were personifies the act of doffing, and represents it as congratulating the doffer; and I have scrupulously retained all his extravagances, believing them (in the present treatise at least) to be intentional.

[2] A Cynic philosopher.

[3] "Inhumano;" or, perhaps, "involving superhuman effort."

[4] Oehler attempts to defend the common reading, "humerum *velans* exponit vel includit;" but the correction of Salmasius and Lud. de la Cerda which he quotes, "*vel* exponit," is followed in preference. If Oehler's reading be retained, we may render: "a covering for the shoulder, it exposes or encloses it at will."

[5] *i.e.* the "shoeing" appropiate to the *mantle* will consist at most of *sandals*; "*shoes*" being (as has been said) suited to the *gown*.

more manly, at all events, [if bare,] than in shoes. These [pleas I advance] for the Mantle in the meantime, in so far as you have defamed it by name. Now, however, it challenges you on the score of its function withal. "I," it says, "owe no duty to the forum, the election-ground, or the senate-house; I keep no obsequious vigil, preoccupy no platforms, hover about no prætorian residences; I am not odorant of the canals, am not adorant of the lattices, am no constant wearer out of benches, no wholesale router of laws, no barking pleader, no judge, no soldier, no king: I have withdrawn from the populace. My only business is with myself: except that other care I have none, save not to care. The better life you would more enjoy in seclusion than in publicity. But you will decry me as indolent. Forsooth, 'we are to live for our country, and empire, and estate.' Such used,[1] of old, to be the sentiment. None is born for another, being destined to die for himself. At all events, when we come to the Epicuri and Zenones, you give the epithet of 'sages' to the whole teacherhood of *Quietude*, who have consecrated that *Quietude* with the name of 'supreme' and 'unique' pleasure. Still, to some extent it will be allowed, even to *me*, to confer benefit on the public. From any and every boundary-stone or altar it is my wont to prescribe medicines to morals—medicines which will be more felicitous in conferring good health upon public affairs, and states, and empires, than *your* works are. Indeed, if I proceed to encounter you with naked foils, gowns have done the commonwealth more hurt than cuirasses. Moreover, I flatter no vices; I give quarter to no lethargy, no slothful encrustation. I apply the cauterizing iron to the ambition which led M. Tullius to buy a circular table of citron-wood for more than £4000,[2] and Asinius Gallus to pay twice as much for an ordinary table of the same Moorish wood (Hem! at what fortunes did

[1] "Erat"—Oehler, who refers to "errat" as the general reading, and (if adopted) renders: "This sentiment errs (or wanders) in all directions;" making *olim* = *passim*.

[2] Reckoning the 1000 sesterces at their pre-Augustan value, £8, 17s. 1d.

they value woody dapplings!), or, again, Sulla to frame dishes of an hundred pounds' weight. I fear lest that balance be small, when a Drusillanus (and he withal a slave of Claudius!) constructs a tray[1] of the weight of 500 lbs.!—a tray indispensable, perchance, to the aforesaid tables, for which, if a workshop was erected,[2] there ought to have been erected a dining-room too. Equally do I plunge the scalpel into the inhumanity which led Vedius Pollio to expose slaves to fill the bellies of sea-eels. Delighted, forsooth, with his novel savagery, he kept land-monsters, toothless, clawless, hornless: it was his pleasure to turn perforce into wild beasts his fish, which (of course) were to be forthwith cooked, that in their entrails he himself withal might taste some savour of the bodies of his own slaves. I will forelop the gluttony which led Hortensius the orator to be the first to have the heart to slay a peacock for the sake of food; which led Aufidius Lurco to be the first to vitiate meat with stuffing, and by the aid of forcemeats to raise them to an adulterous[3] flavour; which led Asinius Celer to purchase the viand of a single mullet at nearly £50;[4] which led Æsopus the actor to preserve in his pantry a dish of the value of nearly £800, made up of birds of the selfsame costliness [as the mullet aforesaid], consisting of all the songsters and talkers; which led his son, after such a titbit, to have the hardihood to hunger after somewhat yet more sumptuous: for he swallowed down pearls—costly even on the ground of their name—I suppose for fear he should have supped more beggarly than his father. I am silent as to the Neros and Apicii and Rufi. I will give a cathartic to the impurity of a Scaurus, and the gambling of a Curius, and the intemperance of an Antony. And remember that these, out of the many [whom I have named], were *gownsmen*—such as among the *mantled*

[1] "Promulsis"—a tray on which *the first course* ("promulsis" or "antecoena") was served, otherwise called "promulsidare."

[2] As Pliny (quoted by Oehler) tells us was the case.

[3] Or, "adulterated."

[4] Reckoning the 1000 sesterces at the post-Augustan value, £7, 16s. 3d.

men you would not easily find. These purulencies of a state who will eliminate and exsuppurate, save a bemantled speech?

Chap. vi.—*Further distinctions, and crowning glory, of the mantle.*

"'With speech,' says [my antagonist], 'you have tried to persuade me,—a most sage medicament.' But, albeit utterance be mute—impeded by infancy or else checked by bashfulness, for life is content with an even tongueless philosophy—my very *cut* is eloquent. A philosopher, in fact, is *heard* so long as he is *seen*. My very sight puts vices to the blush. Who suffers not, when he sees his own rival? Who can bear to gaze ocularly at him at whom mentally he cannot? Grand is the benefit conferred by the Mantle, at the thought whereof moral improbity absolutely blushes. Let philosophy now see to the question of her own profitableness; for she is not the only associate whom I boast. Other scientific arts of public utility I boast. From my store are clothed the first teacher of the forms of letters, the first explainer of their sounds, the first trainer in the rudiments of arithmetic, the grammarian, the rhetorician, the sophist, the medical man, the poet, the musical timebeater, the astrologer, and the birdgazer. All that is liberal in studies is covered by my four angles. 'True; but all these rank lower than Roman knights.' Well; but your gladiatorial trainers, and all their ignominious following, are conducted into the arena *begowned*. This, no doubt, will be the indignity implied in 'From gown to Mantle!'" Well, so speaks the Mantle. But I confer on it likewise a fellowship with a divine sect and discipline. Joy, Mantle, and exult! A better philosophy has now deigned to honour thee, ever since thou hast begun to be a Christian's vesture!

AN ANSWER TO THE JEWS.

CHAP. I.—*Occasion of writing. Relative position of Jews and Gentiles illustrated.*

IT happened very recently a dispute was held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte. Alternately with contentious cable they each spun out the day until evening. By the opposing din, moreover, of some partisans of the individuals, truth began to be overcast by a sort of cloud. It was therefore our pleasure that that which, owing to the confused noise of disputation, could be less fully elucidated point by point, should be more carefully looked into, and that the pen should determine, for reading purposes, the questions handled.

For the occasion, indeed, of claiming Divine grace even for the Gentiles derived a pre-eminent fitness from this fact, that the man who set up to vindicate God's Law as his own was of the Gentiles, and not a Jew "of the stock of the Israelites."[1] For this fact—that Gentiles are admissible to God's Law—is enough to prevent Israel from priding himself on the notion that "the Gentiles are accounted as a little drop of a bucket," or else as "dust out of a threshing-floor:"[2] although we have God Himself as an adequate engager and faithful promiser, in that He promised to Abraham that "in his seed should be blest all

[1] Comp. Phil. iii. 5.

[2] See Isa. xl. 15: "dust of *the balance*," Eng. ver.; ῥοπὴ ζυγοῦ, LXX. For the expression "dust out of a threshing-floor," however, see Ps. i. 4, Dan. ii. 35.

nations of the earth;"[1] and that[2] out of the womb of Rebecca "two peoples and two nations were about to proceed,"[3]—of course those of the Jews, that is, of Israel; and of the Gentiles, that is, ours. Each, then, was called a "people" and a "nation;" lest, from the nuncupative appellation, any should dare to claim for himself the privilege of grace. For God ordained "two peoples and two nations" as about to proceed out of the womb of one female: nor did grace[4] make distinction in the nuncupative appellation, but in the order of birth; to the effect that, whichever was to be prior in proceeding from the womb, should be subjected to "the less," that is, the posterior. For thus unto Rebecca did God speak: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be divided from thy belly; and people shall overcome people, and the greater shall serve the less."[3] Accordingly, since the "people" or "nation" of the Jews is anterior in time, and "greater" through the grace of primary favour in the Law, whereas ours is understood to be "less" in the age of times, as having in the last era of the world[5] attained the knowledge of divine mercy: beyond doubt, [as we learn] through the edict of the divine utterance, the "prior" and "greater" people—that is, the Jewish—must necessarily serve the "less;" and the "less" people—that is, the Christian—overcome the "greater." For, withal, according to the memorial records of the divine Scriptures, the "people" of the Jews—that is, the more ancient—quite forsook God, and did degrading service to idols, and, abandoning the Divinity, was surrendered to images; while "the people" said to Aaron, "Make us gods to go before us."[6] And when the gold out of the necklaces of the females and the

[1] See Gen. xxii. 18; and comp. Gal. iii. 16, and the references in both places.

[2] This promise may be said to have been given "to Abraham," because (of course) he was still living at the time; as we see by comparing Gen. xxi. 5 with xxv. 7 and 26. See, too, Heb. xi. 9.

[3] See Gen. xxv. 21–23, especially in the LXX.; and comp. Rom. ix. 10–13.

[4] Or, "nor did He make, by grace, a distinction."

[5] Sæculi.

[6] Ex. xxxii. 1, 23; Acts vii. 39, 40.

rings of the men had been wholly smelted by fire, and there had come forth a calf-like head, to this figment Israel with one consent (abandoning God) gave honour, saying, "These are the gods who ejected us from the land of Egypt."[1] For thus, in the later times in which kings were governing them, did they again, in conjunction with Jeroboam, worship golden kine, and groves, and enslave themselves to Baal.[2] Whence is proved that they have ever been depicted, out of the volume of the divine Scriptures, as guilty of the crime of idolatry; whereas our "less"—that is, posterior—"people," quitting the idols which formerly it used slavishly to serve, has been converted to the same God from whom Israel, as we have above related, had departed.[3] For thus has the "less"—that is, posterior—"people" overcome the "greater people," while it attains the grace of divine favour, from which [grace] Israel has been divorced.

Chap. ii.—*The law anterior to Moses.*

Stand we, therefore, foot to foot, and determine we the sum and substance of the actual question within definite lists.

For why should God, the Founder of the universe, the Governor of the whole world,[4] the Fashioner of humanity, the Sower[5] of universal nations, be believed to have given a law through Moses to one people, and not be said to have assigned it to all nations? For, unless He had given it to all, by no means would He have habitually permitted even proselytes out of the nations to have access to it. But—as is congruous with the goodness of God, and with His equity, as the Fashioner of mankind—He gave to all nations the selfsame law, which at definite and stated times He enjoined should be observed, when He willed, and through whom He willed, and as He willed. For in the beginning of the

[1] Ex. xxxii. 4: comp. Acts vii. 38–41; 1 Cor. x. 7; Ps. cvi. 19–22.

[2] Comp. 1 Kings xii. 25–33; 2 Kings xvii. 7–17 (in LXX. 3 and 4 Kings). The Eng. ver. speaks of "calves;" the LXX. call them "heifers."

[3] Comp. 1 Thess. i. 9, 10.

[4] Mundi.

[5] Comp. Jer. xxxi. 27 (in LXX. it is xxxviii. 27); Hos. ii. 23; Zech. x. 9; Matt. xiii. 31–43.

world He gave to Adam himself and Eve a law, that they were not to eat of the fruit of the tree planted in the midst of paradise; but that, if they did contrariwise, by death they were to die.[1] Which law had continued enough for them, had it been kept. For in this law given to Adam we recognise in embryo[2] all the precepts which afterwards sprouted forth when given through Moses; that is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from thy whole heart and out of thy whole soul; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;[3] Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; False witness thou shalt not utter; Honour thy father and mother; and, That which is another's shalt thou not covet. For the primordial law was given to Adam and Eve in paradise, as the womb of all the precepts of God. In short, if they had loved the Lord their God, they would not have contravened His precept; if they had habitually loved their neighbour—that is, themselves[4]—they would not have believed the persuasion of the serpent, and thus would not have committed murder upon themselves,[4] by falling[5] from immortality, by contravening God's precept; from theft also they would have abstained, if they had not stealthily tasted of the fruit of the tree, nor had been anxious to skulk beneath a tree to escape the view of the Lord their God; nor would they have been made partners with the falsehood-asseverating devil, by believing him that they would be "like God;" and thus they would not have offended God either, as their Father, who had fashioned them from clay of the earth, as out of the womb of a mother; if they had not coveted another's, they would not have tasted of the unlawful fruit.

Therefore, in this general and primordial law of God, the observance of which, in the case of the tree's fruit, He had

[1] See Gen. ii. 16, 17, iii. 2, 3.

[2] Condita.

[3] Deut. vi. 4, 5; Lev. xix. 18: comp. Matt. xxii. 34–40; Mark xii. 28–34; Luke x. 25–28; and for the rest, Ex. xx. 12–17; Deut. v. 16–21; Rom. xiii. 9.

[4] Semetipsos. ? Each other.

[5] Excidendo; or, perhaps, "by self-excision," or "mutual excision."

sanctioned, we recognise *en*closed all the precepts specially of the posterior Law, which germinated when *dis*closed at their proper times. For the subsequent superinduction of a law is the work of the same Being who had before premised a precept; since it is His province withal subsequently to train, who had before resolved to form, righteous creatures. For what wonder if He extends a discipline who institutes it? if He advances who begins? In short, before the Law of Moses,[1] written in stone-tables, I contend that there was a law unwritten, which was habitually understood naturally, and by the fathers was habitually kept. For whence was Noah "found righteous,"[2] if in his case the righteousness of a natural law had not preceded? Whence was Abraham accounted "a friend of God,"[3] if not on the ground of equity and righteousness [in the observance] of a natural law? Whence was Melchizedek named "priest of the most high God,"[4] if, before the priesthood of the Levitical law, there were not Levites who were wont to offer sacrifices to God? For thus, after the above-mentioned patriarchs, was the Law given to Moses, at that [well-known] time after their exode from Egypt, after the interval and spaces of four hundred years. In fact, it was after Abraham's "four hundred and thirty years"[5] that the Law was given. Whence we understand that God's law was anterior even to Moses, and was not first [given] in Horeb, or in Sinai and in the desert, but was more ancient; [existing] first in paradise, subsequently re-formed for the patriarchs, and so again for the Jews, at definite periods: so that we are not to give heed to Moses' Law as to the primitive law, but as to a subsequent, which at a definite period God has set forth to the Gentiles too, and, after repeatedly promising so to do through the prophets, has re-formed for the better; and has

[1] Or, "the Law written for Moses in stone-tables."

[2] Gen. vi. 9, vii. 1; comp. Heb. xi. 7.

[3] See Isa. xli. 8; Jas. ii. 23.

[4] Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. cx. (cix. in LXX.) 4; Heb. v. 10, vii. 1–3, 10, 15, 17.

[5] Comp. Gen. xv. 13 with Ex. xii. 40–42 and Acts vii. 6.

premonished [men] that it should come to pass that, just as "the law was given through Moses"[1] at a definite time, so it should be believed to have been temporarily observed and kept. And let us not annul this power which God has, which reforms the law's precepts answerably to the circumstances of the times, with a view to man's salvation. In fine, let him who contends that the Sabbath is still to be observed as a balm of salvation, and circumcision on the eighth day because of the threat of death, teach us that, for the time past, righteous men kept the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, and were thus rendered "friends of God." For if circumcision purges a man, since God made Adam uncircumcised, why did He not circumcise him, even after his sinning, if circumcision purges? At all events, in settling him in paradise, He appointed one uncircumcised as colonist of paradise. Therefore, since God originated Adam uncircumcised, and inobservant of the Sabbath, consequently his offspring also, Abel, offering Him sacrifices, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was by Him commended; while He accepted[2] what he was offering in simplicity of heart, and reprobated the sacrifice of his brother Cain, who was not rightly dividing what he was offering.[3] Noah also, uncircumcised—yes, and inobservant of the Sabbath—God freed from the deluge.[4] For Enoch, too, most righteous man, uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, He translated from this world;[5] [Enoch,] who did not first taste[6] death, in order that, being a candidate for eternal life,[7] he might by this time show us that we also may, without the burden of the law of Moses, please God. Melchizedek also, "the priest of the most high God," uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath, was chosen to the priesthood of God.[8] Lot,

[1] John i. 17.
[2] Or, "credited him with."
[3] Gen. iv. 1–7, especially in the LXX.; comp. Heb. xi. 4.
[4] Gen. vi. 18, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 5.
[5] See Gen. v. 22, 24; Heb. xi. 5.
[6] Or, perhaps, "has not yet tasted."
[7] Æternitatis candidatus. Comp. *ad Ux.* l. i. c. vii., and note 3 there.
[8] See above.

withal, the brother[1] of Abraham, proves that it was for the merits of righteousness, without observance of the law, that he was freed from the conflagration of the Sodomites.[2]

CHAP. III.—*Of circumcision and the supercession of the old law.*

"But Abraham," you say, "was circumcised." [Yes], but he pleased God before his circumcision;[3] nor yet did he observe the Sabbath. [Circumcised, it is true, he was:] for he had "accepted"[4] circumcision; but such as was to be for "a sign" of that time, not for a prerogative title to salvation. In fact, subsequent patriarchs were uncircumcised, like Melchizedek, who, uncircumcised, offered to Abraham himself, already circumcised, on his return from battle, bread and wine.[5] "But again," says [our opponent], "the son of Moses would upon one occasion have been choked by an angel, if Zipporah[6] had not circumcised the foreskin of the infant with a pebble. Whence," says he, "there is the greatest peril if any fail to circumcise the foreskin of his flesh." Nay, but if circumcision altogether brought salvation, even Moses himself, in the case of his own son, would not have omitted to circumcise him on the eighth day; whereas it is agreed that Zipporah did it on the journey, at the compulsion of the angel. Consider we, accordingly, that one single infant's compulsory circumcision cannot have prescribed to every people, and founded, as it were, a law

[1] *i.e.* nephew. See Gen. xi. 31, xii. 5.

[2] See Gen. xix. 1–29; and comp. 2 Pet. ii. 6–9.

[3] See Gen. xii.–xv. compared with xvii. and Rom. iv.

[4] Acceperat. So Tertullian renders, as it appears to me, the ἔλαβε of St. Paul in Rom. iv. 11, *q. v.*

[5] There is, if the text be genuine, some confusion here. Melchizedek does not appear to have been, in any sense, "subsequent" to Abraham, for he probably was senior to him; and, moreover, Abraham does *not* appear to have been "already circumcised" *carnally* when Melchizedek met him. Comp. Gen. xiv. with Gen. xvii.

[6] Tertullian writes Seffora; the LXX. *in loco*, Σεπφώρα, Ex. iv. 24–26, where the Eng. ver. says, "the Lord met him," etc.; the LXX. ἄγγελος Κυρίου.

for keeping this precept. For God, foreseeing that He was about to give this circumcision to the people of Israel for "a sign," not for salvation, urges the circumcision of the son of Moses, their future leader, for this reason; that, since He had begun, through him, to give the People the precept of circumcision, the people should not despise it, from seeing this example [of its neglect] already exhibited conspicuously in their leader's son. For circumcision had to be given; but as "a sign," whence Israel in the last time would have to be distinguished, when, in accordance with their deserts, they should be prohibited from entering the holy city, [as we see] through the words of the prophets, saying, "Your land [is] desert; your cities utterly burnt with fire; your country, in your sight, strangers shall eat up; and, deserted and subverted by strange peoples, the daughter of Zion shall be derelict, like a shed in a vineyard, and like a watchhouse in a cucumber-field, and as it were a city which is being stormed."[1] Why so? Because the subsequent discourse of the prophet reproaches them, saying, "Sons have I begotten and upraised, but they have reprobated me;"[2] and again, "And if ye shall have outstretched [your] hands, I will avert my face from you; and if ye shall have multiplied prayers, I will not hear you: for your hands are full of blood;"[3] and again, "Woe! sinful nation; a people full of sins; wicked sons; ye have quite forsaken God, and have provoked unto indignation the Holy One of Israel."[4] This, therefore, was God's foresight,—that of giving circumcision to Israel, for a sign whence they might be distinguished when the time should arrive wherein their above-mentioned deserts should prohibit their admission into Jerusalem: which circumstance, because it was to be, used to be announced; and, because we see it accomplished, is recognised by us. For, as the carnal circumcision, which was temporary, was inwrought for "a sign" in a contumacious people, so the spiritual has been given for salvation to an

[1] Isa. i. 7, 8. See c. xiii. *sub fin.*

[2] Again an error; for these words *precede* the others. These are found in Isa. i. 2.

[3] Isa. i. 15.

[4] Isa. i. 4.

obedient people; while the prophet Jeremiah says, "Make a renewal for you, and sow not in thorns; be circumcised to God, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart:"[1] and in another place he says, "Behold, days shall come, saith the Lord, and I will draw up, for the house of Judah and for the house of Jacob,[2] a new testament; not such as I once gave their fathers in the day wherein I led them out from the land of Egypt."[3] Whence we understand that the coming cessation of the former circumcision then given, and the coming procession of a new law (not such as He had already given to the fathers), are announced: just as Isaiah foretold, saying that in the last days the mount of the Lord and the house of God were to be manifest above the tops of the mounts: "And it shall be exalted," he says, "above the hills; and there shall come over it all nations; and many shall walk, and say, Come, ascend we unto the mount of the Lord, and unto the house of the God of Jacob,"[4]—not to [the house of the God] of Esau, the former son, but of Jacob, the second; that is, of *our* "people," whose "mount" is Christ, "præcised without concisors' hands,[5] filling every land," shown in the book of Daniel.[6] In short, the coming procession of a new law out of this "house of the God of Jacob" Isaiah in the ensuing words announces, saying, "For from Zion shall go out a law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem, and shall judge among the nations,"—that is, among *us*, who have been called out of the nations,—"and they shall join to beat their glaives into ploughs, and their lances into sickles; and nation shall not take up glaive against nation, and they shall no more learn to fight."[7] Who else, therefore, are understood but *we*, who, fully taught by the new law, observe these practices,—the old law being obli-

[1] Jer. iv. 3, 4. In Eng. ver., "Break up your fallow ground;" but comp. *de Pu.* c. vi. *ad init.*

[2] So Tertullian. In Jer. *ibid.* "Israel and . . . Judah."

[3] Jer. xxxi. 31, 32 (in LXX. *ibid.* xxxviii. 31, 32); comp. Heb. viii. 8-13.

[4] Isa. ii. 2, 3.

[5] Perhaps an allusion to Phil. iii. 1, 2.

[6] See Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45. See c. xiv. below.

[7] Isa. ii. 3, 4.

terated, the coming of whose abolition the action itself[1] demonstrates? For the wont of the old law was to avenge itself by the vengeance of the glaive, and to pluck out "eye for eye," and to inflict retaliatory revenge for injury.[2] But the new law's wont was to point to clemency, and to convert to tranquillity the pristine ferocity of "glaives" and "lances," and to remodel the pristine execution of "war" upon the rivals and foes of the law into the pacific actions of "ploughing" and "tilling" the land.[3] Therefore, as we have shown above that the coming cessation of the old law and of the carnal circumcision was declared, so, too, the observance of the new law and the spiritual circumcision has shone out into the voluntary obediences[4] of peace. For "a people," he says, "whom I knew not hath served me; in obedience of the ear it hath obeyed me."[5] Prophets made the announcement. But what is the "people" which was ignorant of God, but *ours*, who in days bygone knew not God? and who, in the hearing of the ear, gave heed to Him, but *we*, who, forsaking idols, have been converted to God? For Israel—who *had* been known to God, and who had by Him been "upraised"[6] in Egypt, and was transported through the Red Sea, and who in the desert, fed forty years with manna, was wrought to the semblance of eternity, and not contaminated with human passions,[7] or fed on this world's[8] meats, but fed on "angels' loaves"[9]—the manna—and sufficiently bound to God by His benefits—forgat his Lord and God, saying to Aaron:

[1] *i.e.* of beating swords into ploughs, etc.

[2] Comp. Ex. xxi. 24, 25; Lev. xxiv. 17–22; Deut. xix. 11–21; Matt. v. 38.

[3] Especially spiritually. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 6–9, ix. 9, 10, and similar passages.

[4] Obsequia. See *de Pa.* c. iv. note 1.

[5] See Ps. xviii. 43, 44 (xvii. 44, 45 in LXX.), where the Eng. ver. has the future; the LXX., like Tertullian, the past. Comp. 2 Sam. (in LXX. 2 Kings) xxii. 44, 45, and Rom. x. 14–17.

[6] Comp. Isa. i. 2 as above, and Acts xiii. 17.

[7] Sæculi.

[8] Or perhaps, "not affected, as a body, with human sufferings;" in allusion to such passages as Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5, Neh. ix. 21.

[9] Ps. lxxviii. (lxxvii. in LXX.) 25; comp. John vi. 31, 32.

"Make us gods, to go before us: for that Moses, who ejected us from the land of Egypt, hath quite forsaken us; and what hath befallen him we know not." And accordingly we, who "were not the people of God" in days bygone, have been made His people,[1] by accepting the new law above mentioned, and the new circumcision before foretold.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the observance of the Sabbath.*

It follows, accordingly, that, in so far as the abolition of carnal circumcision and of the old law is being demonstrated as having been consummated at its specific times, so also the observance of the Sabbath is being demonstrated to have been temporary.

For the Jews say, that from the beginning God sanctified the seventh day, by resting on it from all His works which He made; and that thence it was, likewise, that Moses said to the People: "REMEMBER the day of the sabbaths, to sanctify it: every servile work ye shall not do therein, except what pertaineth unto life."[2] Whence we [Christians] understand that *we* still more ought to observe a sabbath from all "servile work"[3] always, and not only every seventh day, but through all time. And through this arises the question for us, *what* sabbath God willed us to keep? For the Scriptures point to a sabbath eternal and a sabbath temporal. For Isaiah the prophet says, "*Your* sabbaths my soul hateth;"[4] and in another place he says, "*My* sabbaths ye have profaned."[5] Whence we discern that the temporal sabbath is human, and the eternal sabbath is accounted divine; concerning which He predicts through Isaiah: "And there shall be," He says, "month after month, and day after day, and sabbath after sabbath; and all flesh shall come to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord;"[6] which we understand to

[1] See Hos. i. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 10.
[2] Comp. Gal. v. 1, iv. 8, 9.
[3] See Ex. xx. 8–11 and xii. 16 (especially in the LXX.).
[4] Isa. i. 13.
[5] This is not said by Isaiah; it is found in substance in Ezek. xxii. 8.
[6] Isa. lxvi. 23 in LXX.

have been fulfilled in the times of Christ, when "all flesh" —that is, every nation—"came to adore in Jerusalem" God the Father, through Jesus Christ His Son, as was predicted through the prophet: "Behold, proselytes through me shall go unto Thee."[1] Thus, therefore, before this temporal sabbath, there was withal an eternal sabbath foreshown and foretold; just as before the carnal circumcision there was withal a spiritual circumcision foreshown. In short, let them teach us (as we have already premised) that Adam observed the sabbath; or that Abel, when offering to God a holy victim, pleased Him by a religious reverence for the sabbath; or that Enoch, when translated, had been a keeper of the sabbath; or that Noah the ark-builder observed, on account of the deluge, an immense sabbath; or that Abraham, in observance of the sabbath, offered Isaac his son; or that Melchizedek in his priesthood received the law of the sabbath.

But the Jews are sure to say, that ever since this precept was given through Moses, the observance has been binding. Manifest accordingly it is, that the precept was not eternal nor spiritual, but temporal,[2] which would one day cease. In short, so true is it that it is not in the exemption from work of the sabbath—that is, of the seventh day—that the celebration of this solemnity is to consist, that Joshua the son of Nun, at the time that he was reducing the city Jericho by war, stated that he had received from God a precept to order the People that priests should carry the ark of the testament of God seven days, making the circuit of the city; and thus, when the seventh day's circuit had been performed, the walls of the city would spontaneously fall.[3] Which was so done; and when the space of the seventh day was finished, just as was predicted, down fell the walls of the city. Whence it is manifestly shown, that in the number of those seven days there intervened a sabbath-day. For seven days,

[1] I am not acquainted with any such passage. Oehler refers to Isa. xlix. in his margin, but gives no verse, and omits to notice this passage of the present treatise in his index.

[2] Or, "temporary."

[3] Josh. vi. 1–20.

whencesoever they may have commenced, must necessarily include within them a sabbath-day; on which day not only must the priests have worked, but the city must have been made a prey by the edge of the sword by all the people of Israel. Nor is it doubtful that they "wrought servile work," when, in obedience to God's precept, they drave the preys of war. For in the times of the Maccabees, too, they did bravely in fighting on the sabbaths, and routed their foreign foes, and recalled the law of their fathers to the primitive style of life by fighting on the sabbaths.[1] Nor should I think it was any other law which they [thus] vindicated, than the one in which they remembered the existence of the prescript touching "the day of the sabbaths."[2]

Whence it is manifest that the force of such precepts was temporary, and respected the necessity of present circumstances; and that it was not with a view to its observance in perpetuity that God formerly gave them such a law.

Chap. v.—*Of sacrifices.*

So, again, we show that sacrifices of earthly oblations and of spiritual sacrifices[3] were predicted; and, moreover, that from the beginning the earthly were foreshown, in the person of Cain, to be those of the "elder son," that is, of Israel; and the opposite sacrifices demonstrated to be those of the "younger son," Abel, that is, of *our* people. For the elder, Cain, offered gifts to God from the fruit of the earth; but the younger son, Abel, from the fruit of his ewes. "God had respect unto Abel, and unto his gifts; but unto Cain and unto his gifts He had not respect. And God said unto Cain, Why is thy countenance fallen? hast thou not—if thou offerest indeed aright, but dost not divide aright—sinned? Hold thy peace. For unto thee [shall] thy conversion [be], and he shall lord it over thee. And then Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the

[1] See 1 Macc. ii. 41, etc.

[2] See Ex. xx. 8; Deut. v. 12, 15: in LXX.

[3] This tautology is due to the author, not to the translator: "sacrificia . . . spiritalium sacrificiorum."

field: and he went away with him thither, and he slew him. And then God said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? To whom God said, The voice of the blood of thy brother crieth forth unto me from the earth. Wherefore cursed [is] the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive the blood of thy brother. Groaning and trembling shalt thou be upon the earth, and every one who shall have found thee shall slay thee."[1] From this proceeding we gather that the two-fold sacrifices of the "two peoples" were even from the very beginning foreshown. In short, when the sacerdotal law was being drawn up, through Moses, in Leviticus, we find it prescribed to the people of Israel that sacrifices should in no other place be offered to God than in the land of promise; which the Lord God was about to give to "the people" Israel and to their brethren, in order that, on Israel's introduction thither, there should there be celebrated sacrifices and holocausts, as well for sins as for souls; and nowhere else but in the holy land.[2] Why, accordingly, does the Spirit afterwards predict, through the prophets, that it should come to pass that in every place and in every land there should be offered sacrifices to God? as He says through the angel Malachi, one of the twelve prophets: "I will not receive sacrifice from your hands; for from the rising sun unto the setting my Name hath been made famous among all the nations, saith the Lord Almighty: and in every place they offer clean sacrifices to my Name."[3] Again, in the Psalms, David says: "Bring to God, ye countries of the nations"—undoubtedly because "unto every land" the preaching of the apostles had to "go out"[4]—"bring to God fame and honour; bring to God the sacrifices of His name: take up[5] victims and enter

[1] See Gen. iv. 2–14. But it is to be observed that the version given in our author differs widely in some particulars from the Heb. and the LXX.

[2] See Lev. xvii. 1–9; Deut. xii. 1–26.

[3] See Mal. i. 10, 11, in LXX.

[4] Comp. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Mark xvi. 15, 16, Luke xxiv. 45–48, with Ps. xix. 4 (xviii. 5 in LXX.), as explained in Rom. x. 18.

[5] Tollite = Gr. ἄρατε. Perhaps = "away with."

into His courts."[1] For that it is not by earthly sacrifices, but by spiritual, that offering is to be made to God, we thus read, as it is written, "An heart contribulate and humbled is a victim for God;"[2] and elsewhere, "Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and render to the Highest thy vows."[3] Thus, accordingly, the spiritual "sacrifices of praise" are pointed to, and "an heart contribulate" is demonstrated an acceptable sacrifice to God. And thus, as carnal sacrifices are understood to be reprobated—of which Isaiah withal speaks, saying, "To what end [bring ye] the multitude of your sacrifices to me? saith the Lord"[4]—so spiritual sacrifices are predicated[5] as accepted, as the prophets announce. For, "even if ye shall have brought me," He says, "the finest wheat flour, [it is] a vain supplicatory gift: it is a thing execrable to me;" and again He says, "Your holocausts and sacrifices, and the fat of goats, and blood of bulls, I will not, not even if ye come to be seen by me: for who hath required these [things] from your hands?"[6] for "from the rising sun unto the setting, my Name hath been made famous among all the nations, saith the Lord."[7] But of the spiritual sacrifices He adds, saying, "And in every place they offer clean sacrifices to my Name, saith the Lord."[7]

CHAP. VI.—*Of the abolition and the Abolisher of the Old Law.*

Therefore, since it is manifest that a sabbath temporal was shown, and a sabbath eternal foretold; a circumcision carnal foretold, and a circumcision spiritual pre-indicated; a law temporal and a law eternal formally declared; sacrifices carnal and sacrifices spiritual foreshown; it follows that, after all these precepts had been given carnally, in time preceding, to the people Israel, there was to supervene a time whereat the precepts of the ancient Law and of the old cere-

[1] See Ps. xcvi. (xcv. in LXX.) 7, 8; and comp. xxix. (xxviii. in LXX.) 1, 2.

[2] See Ps. li. 17 (in LXX. l. 19).

[3] Ps. l. (xlix. in LXX.) 14.

[4] Isa. i. 11.

[5] Or, "foretold."

[6] Comp. Isa. i. 11–14, especially in the LXX.

[7] See Mal. i. as above.

monies would cease, and the promise[1] of the new law, and the recognition of spiritual sacrifices, and the promise of the New Testament, supervene;[2] while the light from on high would beam upon us who were sitting in darkness, and were being detained in the shadow of death.[3] And so there is incumbent on us a necessity[4] binding us, since we have premised that a new law was predicted by the prophets, and that not such as had been already given to their fathers at the time when He led them forth from the land of Egypt,[5] to show and prove, on the one hand, that that old Law has ceased, and on the other, that the promised new law is now in operation.

And, indeed, first we must inquire whether there be expected a giver of the new law, and an heir of the new testament, and a priest of the new sacrifices, and a purger of the new circumcision, and an observer of the eternal sabbath, to suppress the old law, and institute the new testament, and offer the new sacrifices, and repress the ancient ceremonies, and suppress[6] the old circumcision together with its own sabbath,[7] and announce the new kingdom which is not corruptible. Inquire, I say, we must, whether this giver of the new law, observer of the spiritual sabbath, priest of the eternal sacrifices, eternal ruler of the eternal kingdom, be come or no: that, if he is already come, service may have to be rendered him; if he is not yet come, he may have to be awaited, until by his advent it be manifest that the old Law's precepts are suppressed, and that the beginnings of the new law ought to arise. And, primarily, we must lay it down that the ancient Law and the prophets could not have ceased, unless He were come who was constantly announced, through the same Law and through the same prophets, as to come.

[1] Or, "sending forth"—promissio.

[2] The tautology is again due to the author.

[3] Comp. Luke i. 78, 79, Isa. ix. 1, 2, with Matt. iv. 12–16.

[4] Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 16.

[5] See ch. iii. above.

[6] Here again the repetition is the author's.

[7] Cum suo sibi sabbato. Unless the meaning be—which the context seems to forbid—"together with a sabbath of His own:" the Latinity is plainly incorrect.

CHAP. VII.—*The question "whether Christ be come" taken up.*

Therefore upon this issue plant we foot to foot, whether the Christ who was constantly announced as to come be already come, or whether His coming be yet a subject of hope. For proof of which question itself, the times likewise must be examined by us when the prophets announced that the Christ would come; that, if we succeed in recognising that He has come within the limits of those times, we may without doubt believe Him to be the very one whose future coming was ever the theme of prophetic song, upon whom *we*—the nations, to wit—were ever announced as destined to believe; and that, when it shall have been agreed that He is come, we may undoubtedly likewise believe that the new law has by Him been given, and not disavow the new testament in Him and through Him drawn up for us. For that Christ was to come we know that even the Jews do not attempt to disprove, inasmuch as it is to His advent that they are directing their hope. Nor need we inquire at more length concerning *that* matter, since in days bygone all the prophets have prophesied of it; as Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord God to my Christ [the] Lord,[1] whose right hand I have holden, that the nations may hear Him: the powers of kings will I burst asunder; I will open before Him the gates, and the cities shall not be closed to Him." Which very thing we see fulfilled. For whose right hand does God the Father hold but Christ's, His Son?—whom all nations have heard, that is, whom all nations have believed,—whose preachers, withal, the apostles, are pointed to in the Psalms of David: "Into the universal earth," says he, "is gone out their sound, and unto the ends of the earth their words."[2] For upon whom else have the universal nations believed, but upon the Christ who is already come? For whom have the nations believed,

[1] The reference is to Isa. xlv. 1. A glance at the LXX. will at once explain the difference between the reading of our author and the genuine reading. One letter—an "ι"—makes all the difference. For Κύρῳ has been read Κυρίῳ. In the Eng. ver. we read "*His Anointed.*"

[2] Ps. xix. 4 (xviii. 5 in LXX.) and Rom. x. 18.

—Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and they who inhabit Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and they who dwell in Pontus, and Asia, and Pamphylia, tarriers in Egypt, and inhabiters of the region of Africa which is beyond Cyrene, Romans and sojourners, yes, and in Jerusalem Jews,[1] and all other nations; as, for instance, by this time, the varied races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons ([haunts] inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ), and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of provinces and islands many, to us unknown, and which we can scarce enumerate? In all which places the name of the Christ who is already come reigns, as of Him before whom the gates of all cities have been opened, and to whom none are closed, before whom iron bars have been crumbled, and brazen valves[2] opened. Although there be withal a spiritual sense to be affixed to these expressions,—that the hearts of individuals, blockaded in various ways by the devil, are unbarred by the faith of Christ,—still they have been evidently fulfilled, inasmuch as in all these places dwells the "people" of the Name of Christ. For who *could* have reigned *over all nations* but Christ, God's Son, who was ever announced as destined to reign over all to eternity? For if Solomon "reigned," why, it was within the confines of Judea merely: "from Beersheba unto Dan" the boundaries of his kingdom are marked.[3] If, moreover, Darius "reigned" over the Babylonians and Parthians, he had not power *over all nations;* if Pharaoh, or whoever succeeded him in his hereditary kingdom, over the Egyptians, in that country merely did he possess his kingdom's

[1] See Acts ii. 9, 10; but comp. ver. 5.

[2] See Isa. xlv. 1, 2 (especially in Lowth's version and the LXX.).

[3] See 1 Kings iv. 25. (In the LXX. it is 3 Kings iv. 25; but the verse is omitted in Tischendorf's text, ed. Lips. 1860, though given in his footnotes there.) The statement in the text differs slightly from Oehler's reading; where I suspect there is a transposition of a syllable, and that for "in finibus *Judæ* tantum, a *Bersabeæ*," we ought to read "in finibus *Judææ* tantum, a *Bersabe*." See *de Jej.* c. ix.

dominion; if Nebuchadnezzar with his petty kings, "from India unto Ethiopia" he had his kingdom's boundaries;[1] if Alexander the Macedonian, he did not hold more than universal Asia, and the other regions, after he had quite conquered them; if the Germans, to this day they are not suffered to cross their own limits; the Britons are shut within the circuit of their own ocean; the nations of the Moors, and the barbarism of the Gætulians, are blockaded by the Romans, lest they exceed the confines of their own regions. What shall I say of the Romans themselves, who fortify their own empire with garrisons of their own legions, nor can extend the might of their kingdom beyond these nations? But Christ's Name is being extended everywhere, believed everywhere, worshipped by all the above-enumerated nations, reigning everywhere, being adored everywhere, being conferred equally everywhere upon all; no king, with Him, finds greater favour, no barbarian lesser joy; no dignities or pedigrees enjoy distinctions of merit; to all He is equal, to all King, to all Judge, to all "God and Lord."[2] Nor would you hesitate to believe what we asseverate, since you see it taking place.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the times of Christ's birth and passion, and of Jerusalem's destruction.*

Accordingly the times must be inquired into of the predicted and future nativity of the Christ, and of His passion, and of the extermination of the city Jerusalem, that is, its devastation. For Daniel says, that "both the holy city and the holy place are exterminated together with the coming Leader, and that the pinnacle is destroyed unto ruin."[3] And so the times of the coming Christ, the Leader,[4] must be inquired into, which we shall trace in Daniel; and, after computing them, shall prove Him to be come, even on the ground of the times prescribed, and of competent signs and operations of His. Which matters we prove, again, on the ground of the consequences which were ever announced as to follow

[1] See Esth. i. 1, viii. 9.
[2] Comp. John xx. 28.
[3] See Dan. ix. 26 (especially in the LXX.).
[4] Comp. Isa. lv. 4.

His advent; in order that we may believe all to have been as well fulfilled as foreseen.

In such wise, therefore, did Daniel predict concerning Him, as to show both when and in what time He was to set the nations free; and how, after the passion of the Christ, that city had to be exterminated. For he says thus: "In the first year under Darius, son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who reigned over the kingdom of the Chaldees, I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years. . . . And while I was yet speaking in my prayer, behold, the man Gabriel, whom I saw in the vision in the beginning, flying; and he touched me, as it were, at the hour of the evening sacrifice, and made me understand, and spake with me, and said, Daniel, I am now come out to imbue thee with understanding; in the beginning of thy supplication went out a word. And I am come to announce to thee, because thou art a man of desires;[1] and ponder thou on the word, and understand in the vision. Seventy hebdomads have been abridged[2] upon thy commonalty, and upon the holy city, until delinquency be made inveterate, and sins sealed, and righteousnesses obtained by entreaty, and righteousness eternal introduced; and in order that vision and prophet may be sealed, and an holy one of holy ones anointed. And thou shalt know, and thoroughly see, and understand, from the going forth of a word for restoring and rebuilding Jerusalem unto the Christ, the Leader, hebdomads [seven and an half, and[3]] lxii and an half: and it shall convert, and shall be built into height and entrenchment, and the times shall be renewed: and after these lxii hebdomads shall the

[1] Vir desideriorum; Gr. ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν; Eng. ver. "a man greatly beloved." Elsewhere Tertullian has another rendering—"miserabilis." See *de Jej.* cc. vii. ix.

[2] Or, "abbreviated;" breviatæ sunt; Gr. συνετμήθησαν. For this rendering, and the interpretations which in ancient and modern days have been founded on it, see G. S. Faber's Dissert. on the prophecy of the seventy weeks, pp. 5, 6, 109–112. (London, 1811.) The whole work will well repay perusal.

[3] These words are given, by Oehler and Rig., on the authority of Pamelius. The MSS. and early editions are without them.

anointing be exterminated, and shall not be; and the city and the holy place shall he exterminate together with the Leader, who is making His advent; and they shall be cut short as in a deluge, until [the] end of a war, which shall be cut short unto ruin. And he shall confirm a testament in many. In one hebdomad and the half of the hebdomad shall be taken away my sacrifice and libation, and in the holy place the execration of devastation, [and[1]] until the end of [the] time consummation shall be given with regard to this devastation."[2]

Observe we, therefore, the limit,—how, in truth, he predicts that there are to be lxx hebdomads, *within which* if they receive Him, "it shall be built into height and entrenchment, and the times shall be renewed." But God, foreseeing what was to be—that they will not merely not receive Him, but will both persecute and deliver Him to death—both recapitulated, and said, that in lx and ii and an half of an hebdomad He is born, and an holy one of holy ones is anointed; but that, when vii hebdomads[3] and an half were fulfilling, He had to suffer, and the holy city had to be exterminated after one and an half hebdomad,—whereby, namely, the seven and an half hebdomads have been completed. For he says thus: "And the city and the holy place to be exterminated together with the leader who is to come; and they shall be cut short as in a deluge; and he shall destroy the pinnacle unto ruin."[4] Whence, therefore, do we show that the Christ came within the lxii and an half hebdomads? We shall count, moreover, from the first year of Darius, as at this particular time is shown to Daniel this particular vision; for he says, "And

[1] Also supplied by Pamelius.

[2] See Dan. ix. 24–27. It seemed best to render with the strictest literality, without regard to anything else; as an idea will thus be given of the condition of the text, which, as it stands, differs widely, as will be seen, from the Hebrew and also from the LXX., as it stands in the ed. Tisch. Lips. 1860, to which I always adapt my references.

[3] Hebdomad*es* is preferred to Oehler's *-as*, a reading which he follows apparently on slender authority.

[4] There is no trace of these last words in Tischendorf's LXX. here; and only in his footnotes is the "pinnacle" mentioned.

understand and conjecture that at the completion of [thy] word[1] I make thee these answers." Whence we are bound to compute from the first year of Darius, when Daniel saw this vision.

Let us see, therefore, how the years are filled up until the advent of the Christ :—

For Darius reigned	xviiii[2] years.
Artaxerxes reigned	xl and i years.
Then King Ochus (who is also called Cyrus) reigned	xxiiii years.
Argus, ...	one year.
Another Darius, who is also named Melas, .	xxi years.
Alexander the Macedonian, . . .	xii years.

Then, after Alexander, who had reigned over both Medes and Persians, whom he had reconquered, and had established his kingdom firmly in Alexandria, when withal he called that [city] by his own name;[3] after him reigned, (there, in Alexandria,)

Soter, ...	xxxv years.
To whom succeeds	
Philadelphus, reigning . . .	xxx and viii years.
To him succeeds	
Euergetes, ...	xxv years.
Then	
Philopator, ...	xvii years.
After him	
Epiphanes, ...	xxiiii years.
Then another	
Euergetes, ...	xxviiii years.
Then another	
Soter, ...	xxxviii years.
Ptolemy, ...	xxxvii years.
Cleopatra, ...	xx years v months.
Yet again	
Cleopatra reigned jointly with Augustus .	xiii years.
After Cleopatra, Augustus reigned other .	xliii years.

For all the years of the empire of Augustus were lvi years.

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[1] Or, "speech." The reference seems to be to ver. 23, but there is no such statement in Daniel.

[2] So Ochler; and I print all these numbers uniformly—as in the former part of the present chapter—exactly in accordance with the Latin forms, for the sake of showing how easily, in such calculations, errors may creep in.

[3] Comp. Ps. xlix. 11 (in LXX. Ps. xlviii. 12).

Let us see, moreover, how in the forty-first year of the empire of Augustus, when he has been reigning for xx and viii years after the death of Cleopatra, the Christ is born. (And the same Augustus survived, after Christ is born, xv years; and the remaining times of years to the day of the birth of Christ will bring us to the xl first year, which is the xx and viiith of Augustus after the death of Cleopatra.) There are, [then,] made up ccccxxx and vii years, v months: (whence are filled up lxii hebdomads and an half; which make up ccccxxxvii years, vi months:) on the day of the birth of Christ. And [then] "righteousness eternal" was manifested, and "an holy one of holy ones was anointed"—that is, Christ—and "sealed was vision and prophet," and "sins" were remitted, which, through faith in the name of Christ, are washed away[1] for all who believe on Him. But what does he mean by saying that "vision and prophecy *are sealed?*" That all prophets ever announced of Him that He was to come, and had to suffer. Therefore, since the prophecy was fulfilled through His advent, for that reason he said that "vision and prophecy *were sealed;*" inasmuch as He is the signet of all prophets, fulfilling all things which in days bygone they had announced of Him.[2] For after the advent of Christ and His passion there is no longer "vision or prophet" to announce Him as to come. In short, if this is not so, let the Jews exhibit, subsequently to Christ, any volumes of prophets, visible miracles wrought by any angels, [such as those] which in bygone days the patriarchs saw until the advent of Christ, who is now come; since which event "sealed is vision and prophecy," that is, confirmed. And justly does the evangelist[3] write, "The law and the prophets [were] until John" the Baptist. For, on

[1] Diluuntur. So Oehler has amended for the reading of the MSS. and edd., "tribuuntur."

[2] Comp. Pusey on Daniel, pp. 178, 179, notes 6, 7, 8, and the passages therein referred to. And for the whole question of the 70 weeks, and of the LXX. version of Daniel, comp. the same book, Lect. iv. and Note E (2d thousand, 1864). See also pp. 376–381 of the same book; and Faber (as above), pp. 293–297.

[3] Or rather, our Lord Himself. See Matt. xi. 13; Luke xvi. 16.

Christ's being baptized, that is, on His sanctifying the waters in His own baptism,[1] all the plenitude of bygone spiritual grace-gifts ceased in Christ, sealing as He did all vision and prophecies, which by His advent He fulfilled. Whence most firmly does he assert that His advent "seals visions and prophecy."

Accordingly, showing, [as we have done,] both the number of the years, and the time of the lx two and an half fulfilled hebdomads, on completion of which [we have shown] that Christ is come, that is, has been born, let us see what [mean] other "vii and an half hebdomads," which have been subdivided in the abscision of[2] the former hebdomads; [let us see, namely,] in what event they have been fulfilled:—

For, after Augustus, who survived after the birth of Christ, are made up . . .	xv years.
To whom succeeded Tiberius Cæsar, and held the empire .	xx years, vii months, xxviii days.
(In the fifteenth year of his empire Christ suffered, being about xxx years of age when He suffered.)	
Again, Caius Cæsar, also called Caligula, . . .	iii years, viii months, xiii days.
Nero Cæsar, . . .	xi years, ix months, xiii days.
Galba, ...	vii months, vi days.
Otho, ...	iii days.
Vitellius, . . .	viii months, xxvii days.
Vespasian, in the first year of his empire, subdues the Jews in war; and there are made lii years, vi months. For he reigned xi years. And thus, in the day of their storming, the Jews fulfilled the lxx hebdomads predicted in Daniel.	

Therefore, when these times also were completed, and the Jews subdued, there afterwards ceased in that place "liba-

[1] Comp. the very obscure passage in *de Pu.* c. vi., towards the end, on which this expression appears to cast some light.

[2] Or, "in abscision from."

tions and sacrifices," which thenceforward have not been able to be in that place celebrated; for "the unction," too,[1] was "exterminated" in that place after the passion of Christ. For it had been predicted that the unction *should* be exterminated in that place; as in the Psalms it is prophesied, "They exterminated my hands and feet."[2] And the suffering of this "extermination" was perfected within the times of the lxx hebdomads, under Tiberius Cæsar, in the consulate of Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, in the month of March, at the times of the passover, on the eighth day before the calends of April,[3] on the first day of unleavened bread, on which they slew the lamb at even, just as had been enjoined by Moses.[4] Accordingly, all the synagogue of Israel *did* slay Him, saying to Pilate, when he was desirous to dismiss Him, "His blood be upon us, and upon our children;"[5] and, "If thou dismiss him, thou art not a friend of Cæsar;"[6] in order that all things might be fulfilled which had been written of Him.[7]

CHAP. IX.—*Of the prophecies of the birth and achievements of Christ.*

Begin we, therefore, to prove that the BIRTH of Christ was announced by prophets; as Isaiah, [for instance,] foretells, "Hear ye, house of David; no petty contest have ye with men, since God is proposing a struggle. Therefore God Himself will give you a sign; Behold, the virgin[8] shall conceive, and bear a son, and ye shall call his name Emmanuel"[9] (which is, interpreted, "God with us"[10]): "butter and honey shall he eat;"[11] "since, ere the child

[1] And, without "unction"—*i.e.* without a priesthood, the head whereof, or high priest, was always anointed—no "sacrifices" were lawful.

[2] See Ps. xxii. 16 (xxi. 17 in LXX.). [3] *i.e.* March 25.

[4] Comp. Ex. xii. 6 with Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7.

[5] See Matt. xxvii. 24, 25, with John xix. 12 and Acts iii. 13.

[6] John xix. 12. [7] Comp. Luke xxiv. 44, etc.

[8] "*A* virgin," Eng. ver.; ἡ παρθένος, LXX.; "*the* virgin," Lowth.

[9] See Isa. vii. 13, 14. [10] See Matt. i. 23.

[11] See Isa. vii. 15.

learn to call father or mother, he shall receive the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians."[1]

Accordingly the Jews say: Let us challenge that prediction of Isaiah, and let us institute a comparison whether, in the case of the Christ who is already come, there be applicable to Him, firstly, the name which Isaiah foretold, and [secondly] the signs of it[2] which he announced of Him.

Well, then, Isaiah foretells that it behoves Him to be called Emmanuel; and that subsequently He is to take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians. "Now," say they, "that [Christ] of yours, who is come, neither was called by that name, nor engaged in warfare." But we, on the contrary, have thought they ought to be admonished to recall to mind *the context* of this passage as well. For subjoined is withal the interpretation of Emmanuel—"God with us"[3]—in order that you may regard not the sound only of the name, but the sense too. For the Hebrew sound, which is Emmanuel, has an interpretation, which is, God with us. Inquire, then, whether this speech, "God with us" (which is Emmanuel), be commonly applied to Christ ever since Christ's light has dawned, and I think you will not deny it. For they who out of Judaism believe in Christ, ever since their believing on Him, do, whenever they shall wish to say[4] Emmanuel, signify that God is with us: and thus it is agreed that He who was ever predicted as Emmanuel is already come, because that which Emmanuel signifies is come—that is, "God with us." Equally are they led by the sound of the name when they so understand "the power of Damascus," and "the spoils of Samaria," and "the kingdom of the Assyrians," as if they portended Christ as a warrior; not observing that Scripture premises, "since, ere the child learn to call father or mother,

[1] See Isa. viii. 4. (All these passages should be read in the LXX.)

[2] *i.e.* of the predicted name.

[3] In Isa. viii. 8, 10, compared with vii. 14 in the Eng. ver. and the LXX., and also Lowth, introductory remarks on ch. viii.

[4] Or, "to call Him."

he shall receive the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, in opposition to the king of the Assyrians." For the first step is to look at the demonstration of His *age*, to see whether the age there indicated can possibly exhibit the Christ as already a *man*, not to say a *general*. Forsooth, by His babyish cry the infant would summon men to arms, and would give the signal of war not with clarion, but with rattle, and point out the foe, not from His charger's back or from a rampart, but from the back or neck of His suckler and nurse, and thus subdue Damascus and Samaria in place of the teats. (It is another matter if, among you, infants rush out into battle,—oiled first, I suppose, to dry in the sun, and then armed with satchels and rationed on butter,—who are to know how to launch the lance sooner than how to lacerate the bosom!)[1] Certainly, if nature nowhere allows this,—[namely,] to serve as a soldier before developing into manhood, to take "the power of Damascus" before knowing your father,—it follows that the pronouncement is visibly figurative. "But again," say they, "nature suffers not a 'virgin' to be a parent; and yet the prophet must be believed." And deservedly so; for he bespoke credit for a thing incredible, by saying that it was to be *a sign*. "Therefore," he says, "shall A SIGN be given you. Behold, a virgin shall conceive in womb, and bear a son." But a sign from God, unless it had consisted in some portentous novelty, would not have appeared a sign. In a word, if, when you are anxious to cast any down from [a belief in] this divine prediction, or to convert whoever are simple, you have the audacity to lie, as if the Scripture contained [the announcement], that not "a virgin," but "a young female," was to conceive and bring forth; you are refuted even by this fact, that a daily occurrence—the pregnancy and parturition of a young female, namely—cannot possibly seem anything of *a sign*. And the setting before us, then, of a virgin-mother is deservedly believed to be *a sign;* but not equally so a warrior-infant. For there would

[1] See *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xiii., which, with the preceding chapter, should be compared throughout with the chapter before us.

not in this case again be involved the question of a *sign;* but, the *sign* of a novel birth having been awarded, the next step after the *sign* is, that there is enunciated a different ensuing ordering[1] of the infant, who is to eat "honey and butter." Nor is this, of course, for a *sign.* It is natural to infancy. But that he is to receive[2] "the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria in opposition to the king of the Assyrians," this is a wondrous *sign.* Keep to the limit of [the infant's] *age,* and inquire into the sense of the prediction; nay, rather, repay to truth what you are unwilling to credit her with, and the prophecy becomes intelligible by the relation of its fulfilment. Let those Eastern magi be believed, dowering with gold and incense the infancy of Christ as a king;[3] and the infant has received "the power of Damascus" without battle and arms. For, besides the fact that it is known to all that the "power"—for that is the "strength"—of the East is wont to abound in gold and odours, certain it is that the divine Scriptures regard "gold" as constituting the "power" also of all other nations; as it says[4] through Zechariah: "And Judah keepeth guard at Jerusalem, and shall amass all the vigour of the surrounding peoples, gold and silver."[5] For of this gift of "gold" David likewise says, "And to Him shall be given of the gold of Arabia;"[6] and again, "The kings of the Arabs and Saba shall bring Him gifts."[7] For the East, on the one hand, generally held the magi [to be] kings; and Damascus, on the other hand, used formerly to be reckoned to Arabia before it was transferred into Syrophœnicia on the division of the Syrias: the "power" whereof Christ then "received" in receiving its ensigns,—gold, to wit, and odours. "The spoils," moreover, "of Samaria" [He re-

[1] Comp. Judg. xiii. 12; Eng. ver., "How shall we *order* the child?"

[2] Or, "accept."

[3] See Matt. ii. 1–12.

[4] Of course he ought to have said, "*they say.*"

[5] Zech. xiv. 14, omitting the last clause.

[6] Ps. lxxii. 15 (lxxi. 15 in LXX.): "Sheba" in Eng. ver.; "Arabia" in the "Great Bible" of 1539; and so the LXX.

[7] Ps. lxxii. 10, in LXX. and "Great Bible;" "Sheba and Seba," Eng. ver.

ceived in receiving] the magi themselves, who, on recognising Him, and honouring Him with gifts, and adoring Him on bended knee as Lord and King, on the evidence of the guiding and indicating star, became "the spoils of Samaria," that is, of idolatry—by believing, namely, on Christ. For idolatry [Scripture] denoted by the name of "Samaria," Samaria being ignominious on the score of idolatry; for she had at that time revolted from God under King Jeroboam. For this, again, is no novelty to the Divine Scriptures, figuratively to use a transference of *name* grounded on parallelism of *crimes*. For it[1] calls your rulers "rulers of Sodom," and your people the "people of Gomorrha,"[2] when those cities had already long been extinct.[3] And elsewhere it says, through a prophet, to the people of Israel, "Thy father [was] an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite;"[4] of whose race they were not begotten, but [were called their sons] by reason of their consimilarity in impiety, whom of old [God] had called *His own sons* through Isaiah the prophet: "I have generated and exalted sons."[5] So, too, Egypt is sometimes understood to mean the whole world[6] in that prophet, on the count of superstition and malediction.[7] So, again, Babylon, in our own John, is a figure of the city Rome, as being equally great and proud of her sway, and triumphant over the saints.[8] On this wise, accordingly, [Scripture][9] entitled the magi also with the appellation of "Samaritans,"—"despoiled" [of that] which they had had in common with the Samaritans, as we have said—idolatry in opposition to the Lord. [It[10] adds], "in opposition," moreover, "to the king of the Assyrians,"—in opposition to the devil, who to this hour thinks himself to be reigning, if he detrudes the saints from the religion of God.

[1] Strictly, Tertullian ought to have said "they call," having above said "Divine Scriptures;" as above on the preceding page.

[2] Isa. i. 10. [3] See Gen. xix. 23–29. [4] Ezek. xvi. 3, 45.

[5] Isa. i. 2, as before. [6] Orbis.

[7] Oehler refers to Isa. xix. 1. See, too, Isa. xxx. and xxxi.

[8] See Rev. xvii., etc.

[9] Or we may supply here ["Isaiah"]. [10] Or, "he."

Moreover, this our interpretation will be supported while [we find that] elsewhere as well the Scriptures designate Christ a warrior, as we gather from the names of certain weapons, and words of that kind. But by a comparison of the remaining senses the Jews shall be convicted. "Gird thee," says David, "the sword upon the thigh."[1] But what do you read above concerning the Christ? "Blooming in beauty above the sons of men; grace is outpoured in thy lips."[2] But very absurd it is if he was complimenting on the bloom of his beauty and the grace of his lips, one whom he was girding for war with a sword; of whom he proceeds subjunctively to say, "Outstretch and prosper, advance and reign!" And he has added, "because of thy lenity and justice."[3] Who will ply the sword without practising the contraries to lenity and justice; that is, guile, and asperity, and injustice, proper (of course) to the business of battles? See we, then, whether that which has another action be not another sword,—that is, the Divine word of God, doubly sharpened[4] with the two Testaments of the ancient law and the new law; sharpened by the equity of its own wisdom; rendering to each one according to his own action.[5] Lawful, then, it was for the Christ of God to be precinct, in the Psalms, without warlike achievements, with the figurative sword of the word of God; to which sword is congruous the predicated "bloom," together with the "grace of the lips;" with which sword He was then being "girt upon the thigh," in the eye of David, when He was being announced as about to come to earth in obedience to God the Father's decree. "The greatness of thy right hand," he says, "shall conduct thee"[6]—the virtue, to wit, of the spiritual grace from which the recognition of Christ is deduced. "Thine arrows," he says, "are sharp,"[7]—God's everywhere-flying precepts

[1] Ps. xlv. 3, clause 1 (in LXX. Ps. xliv. 4).
[2] See Ps. xlv. 2 (xliv. 3 in LXX.).
[3] Ps. xlv. 4 (xliv. 5 in LXX.).
[4] Comp. Heb. iv. 12; Rev. i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15, 21; also Eph. vi. 17.
[5] Comp. Ps. lxii. 12 (lxi. 13 in LXX.); Rom. ii. 6.
[6] See Ps. xlv. 5 (xliv. 6 in LXX.). [7] Ps. xlv. 5 (xliv. 6 in LXX.).

[arrows] threatening the exposure[1] of every heart, and carrying compunction and transfixion to each conscience: "peoples shall fall beneath thee,"[2]—of course, in adoration. Thus mighty in war and weapon-bearing is Christ; thus will He "receive the spoils," not of "Samaria" alone, but of all nations as well. Acknowledge that His "spoils" are figurative whose weapons you have learnt to be allegorical. And thus, so far, the Christ who is come was not a warrior, because He was not predicted as such by Isaiah.

"But if the Christ," say they, "who is believed to be coming is not called Jesus, why is he who is come called Jesus Christ?" Well, each name will meet in the Christ of God, in whom is found likewise the appellation[3] Jesus. Learn the habitual character of your error. In the course of the appointing of a successor to Moses, Oshea[4] the son of Nun[5] is certainly transferred from his pristine name, and begins to be called Jesus.[6] Certainly, you say. This we first assert to have been a figure of the future. For, because Jesus Christ was to introduce the second people (which is composed of us nations, lingering deserted in the world[7] aforetime) into the land of promise, "flowing with milk and honey"[8] (that is, into the possession of eternal life, than which nought is sweeter); and this had to come about, not through Moses (that is, not through the Law's discipline), but through Joshua (that is, through the new law's grace),

[1] Traductionem (comp. Heb. iv. 13). [2] Ps. xlv. 5.

[3] I can find no authority for "appellatus" as a substantive, but such forms are familiar with Tertullian. Or perhaps we may render: "in that He is found to have been likewise called Jesus."

[4] Auses; Αὐσή in LXX. [5] Nave; Ναυή in LXX.

[6] Jehoshua, Joshua, Jeshua, Jesus, are all forms of the same name. But the change from Oshea or Hoshea to Jehoshua appears to have been made when he was sent to spy the land. See Num. xiii. 16 (17 in LXX., who call it a *sur*naming).

[7] If Oehler's "in sæculo desertæ" is to be retained, this appears to be the construction. But this passage, like others above noted, is but a reproduction of parts of the third book in answer to Marcion; and there the reading is "in sæculi desertis" = "in the desert places of the world," or "of heathendom."

[8] See Ex. iii. 8, and the references there.

after our circumcision with "a knife of rock"[1] (that is, with Christ's precepts, for Christ is in many ways and figures predicted as a rock[2]); therefore the man who was being prepared to act as images of this sacrament was inaugurated under the figure of the Lord's name, even so as to be named Jesus.[3] For He who ever spake to Moses was the Son of God Himself; who, too, was always *seen*.[4] For God the Father none ever saw, and lived.[5] And accordingly it is agreed that the Son of God Himself spake to Moses, and said to the people, "Behold, I send mine angel before thy" —that is, the people's—"face, to guard thee on the march, and to introduce thee into the land which I have prepared thee: attend to him, and be not disobedient to him; for he hath not escaped[6] thy notice, since my name is upon him."[7] For Joshua was to introduce the people into the land of promise, not Moses. Now He called him an "angel," on account of the magnitude of the mighty deeds which he was to achieve (which mighty deeds Joshua the son of Nun did, and you yourselves read), and on account of his office of prophet announcing (to wit) the divine will; just as withal the Spirit, speaking in the person of the Father, calls the forerunner of Christ, John, a future "angel," through the prophet: "Behold, I send mine angel before Thy"—that is, Christ's—"face, who shall prepare Thy way before Thee."[8] Nor is it a novel practice to the Holy Spirit to call those "angels" whom God has appointed as ministers of His power. For the same John is called not merely an "angel" of Christ, but withal a "lamp" shining before Christ: for

[1] See Josh. v. 2–9, especially in LXX. Comp. the margin in the Eng. ver. on ver. 2, "flint knives," and Wordsworth *in loc.*, who refers to Ex. iv. 25, for which see ch. iii. above.

[2] See especially 1 Cor. x. 4.

[3] Or, "Joshua."

[4] Comp. Num. xii. 5–8.

[5] Comp. Ex. xxxiii. 20; John i. 18, xiv. 9; Col. i. 15; Heb. i. 3.

[6] Oehler and others read "cela*vit;*" but the correction of Fr. Junius and Rig., "cela*bit*," is certainly more agreeable to the LXX. and the Eng. ver.

[7] Ex. xxiii. 20, 21.

[8] Mal. iii. 1: comp. Matt. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27.

David predicts, "I have prepared the lamp for my Christ;"[1] and him Christ Himself, coming "to fulfil the prophets,"[2] called so to the Jews. "He was," He says, "the burning and shining lamp;"[3] as being he who not merely "prepared His ways in the desert,"[4] but withal, by pointing out "the Lamb of God,"[5] illumined the minds of men by his heralding, so that they understood Him to be that Lamb whom Moses was wont to announce as destined to suffer. Thus, too, [was the son of Nun called] JOSHUA, on account of the future mystery[6] of his name: for that name [He who spake with Moses] confirmed as His own which Himself had conferred on him, because He had bidden him thenceforth be called, not "angel" nor "Oshea," but "Joshua." Thus, therefore, each name is appropriate to the Christ of God—that He should be called Jesus as well [as Christ].

And that the virgin of whom it behoved Christ to be born (as we have above mentioned) must derive her lineage of the seed of David, the prophet in subsequent passages evidently asserts. "And there shall be born," he says, "a rod from the root of Jesse"—which rod is Mary—"and a flower shall ascend from his root: and there shall rest upon Him the Spirit of God, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of discernment and piety, the spirit of counsel and truth; the spirit of God's fear shall fill Him."[7] For to none of men was the universal aggregation of spiritual credentials appropriate, except to Christ; parallelled as He is to a "flower" by reason of glory, by reason of grace; but accounted "of the root of Jesse," whence His origin is to be deduced,—to wit, through Mary.[8] For He was from the native soil of Bethlehem, and from the house of David; as, among the Romans, Mary is described in the census, of whom is born Christ.[9]

[1] See Ps. cxxxii. 17 (cxxxi. 17 in LXX.).
[2] Matt. v. 17, briefly; a very favourite reference with Tertullian.
[3] John v. 35, ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων.
[4] Comp. reference 8, p. 232; and Isa. xl. 3, John i. 23.
[5] See John i. 29, 36.
[6] Sacramentum.
[7] See Isa. xi. 1, 2, especially in LXX.
[8] See Luke i. 27.
[9] See Luke ii. 1–7.

I demand, again—granting that He who was ever predicted by prophets as destined to come out of Jesse's race, was withal to exhibit all humility, patience, and tranquillity—whether He be come? Equally so [in this case as in the former], the man who is shown to bear that character will be the very Christ who is come. For of Him the prophet says, "A man set in a plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity;" who "was led as a sheep for a victim; and, as a lamb before him who sheareth him, opened not His mouth."[1] If He "neither did contend nor shout, nor was His voice heard abroad," who "crushed not the bruised reed"—Israel's faith, who "quenched not the burning flax"[2]—that is, the momentary glow of the Gentiles—but made it shine more by the rising of His own light,—He can be none other than He who was predicted. The action, therefore, of the Christ who is come must be examined by being placed side by side with the rule of the Scriptures. For, if I mistake not, we find Him distinguished by a twofold operation,—that of *preaching* and that of *power*. Now, let each count be disposed of summarily. Accordingly, let us work out the order we have set down, teaching that Christ was announced as a PREACHER; as, through Isaiah: "Cry out," he says, "in vigour, and spare not; lift up, as with a trumpet, thy voice, and announce to my commonalty their crimes, and to the house of Jacob their sins. Me from day to day they seek, and to learn my ways they covet, as a people which hath done righteousness, and hath not forsaken the judgment of God," and so forth:[3] that, moreover, He was to do acts of POWER from the Father: "Behold, our God will deal retributive judgment; Himself will come and save us: then shall the infirm be healed, and the eyes of the blind shall see, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the mutes' tongues shall be loosed, and the lame shall leap as an hart,"[4] and so on; which

[1] See Isa. liii. 3, 7, in LXX.; and comp. Ps. xxxviii. 17 (xxxvii. 18 in LXX.) in the "Great Bible" of 1539.

[2] See Isa. xlii. 2, 3, and Matt. xii. 19, 20.

[3] See Isa. lviii. 1, 2, especially in LXX.

[4] See Isa. xxxv. 4, 5, 6.

works not even you deny that Christ did, inasmuch as you were wont to say that, "on account of the works ye stoned Him not, but because He did them on the Sabbaths."[1]

CHAP. X.—*Concerning the passion of Christ, and its Old Testament predictions and adumbrations.*

Concerning the last step, plainly, of His passion you raise a doubt; affirming that the passion of the cross was not predicted with reference to Christ, and urging, besides, that it is not credible that God should have exposed His own Son to that kind of death; because Himself said, "Cursed [is] every one who shall have hung on a tree."[2] But the *reason* of the case antecedently explains the sense of this malediction; for He says in Deuteronomy: "If, moreover, [a man] shall have been [involved] in some sin incurring the judgment of death, and shall die, and ye shall suspend him on a tree, his body shall not remain on the tree, but with burial ye shall bury him on the very day; because cursed by God is every one who shall have been suspended on a tree; and ye shall not defile the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee for [thy] lot."[3] Therefore He did not maledictively adjudge Christ to this passion, but drew a distinction, that whoever, *in any sin*, had incurred the judgment of death, and died suspended on a tree, *he* should be "cursed by God," because his own sins were the cause of his suspension on the tree. On the other hand, Christ, who spake not guile from His mouth,[4] and who exhibited all righteousness and humility, not only (as we have above recorded it predicted of Him) was not exposed to that kind of death *for His own deserts*, but [was so exposed] in order that what was predicted by the prophets as destined to come upon Him through your means[5] might be fulfilled; just as, in the Psalms, the Spirit Himself of Christ

[1] See John v. 17, 18, compared with x. 31–33.

[2] Comp. Deut. xxi. 23 with Gal. iii. 13, with Prof. Lightfoot on the latter passage.

[3] Deut. xxi. 22, 23 (especially in the LXX.).

[4] See 1 Pet. ii. 22 with Isa. liii. 9.

[5] Oehler's pointing is disregarded.

was already singing, saying, "They were repaying me evil for good;"[1] and, "What I had not seized I was then paying in full;"[2] "They exterminated my hands and feet;"[3] and, "They put into my drink gall, and in my thirst they slaked me with vinegar;"[4] "Upon my vesture they did cast [the] lot;"[5] just as the other [outrages] which you were to commit on Him were foretold,—all which He, actually and thoroughly suffering, suffered not for any evil action of His own, but "that the Scriptures from the mouth of the prophets might be fulfilled."[6]

And, of course, it had been meet that the mystery[7] of the passion itself should be figuratively set forth in predictions; and the more incredible [that mystery], the more likely to be "a stumbling-stone,"[8] if it had been nakedly predicted; and the more magnificent, the more to be *adumbrated*, that the difficulty of its intelligence might seek [help from] the grace of God.

Accordingly, to begin with, Isaac, when led by his father as a victim, and himself bearing his own "wood,"[9] was even at that early period pointing to Christ's death; conceded, as He was, as a victim by the Father; carrying, as He did, the "wood" of His own passion.[10]

Joseph, again, himself was made a figure of Christ[11] in this point alone (to name no more, not to delay my own course), that he suffered persecution at the hands of his brethren, and was sold into Egypt, on account of the favour of God;[12] just as

[1] Ps. xxxv. (xxxiv. in LXX.) 12.
[2] Ps. lxix. 4 (lxviii. 5 in LXX.).
[3] Ps. xxii. 16 (xxi. 17 in LXX.).
[4] Ps. lxix. 21 (lxviii. 22 in LXX.).
[5] Ps. xxii. 18 (xxi. 19 in LXX.).
[6] See Matt. xxvi. 56, xxvii. 34, 35; John xix. 23, 24, 28, 32–37.
[7] Sacramentum.
[8] See Rom. ix. 32, 33, with Isa. xxviii. 16; 1 Cor. i. 23; Gal. v. 11.
[9] Lignum = ξύλον; constantly used for the "tree."
[10] Comp. Gen. xxii. 1–10 with John xix. 17.
[11] "Christ*um* figur*atus*" is Oehler's reading, after the two MSS. and the Pamelian ed. of 1579; the rest read "figu*rans*" or "figur*avit*."
[12] Manifested, *e.g.*, in his *two dreams*. See Gen. xxxvii.

Christ was sold by Israel—[and therefore,] "according to the flesh," by His "brethren"[1]—when He is betrayed by Judas.[2] For Joseph is withal blest by his father[3] after this form: "His glory [is that] of a bull; his horns, the horns of an unicorn; on them shall he toss nations alike unto the very extremity of the earth." Of course no one-horned rhinoceros was there pointed to, nor any two-horned minotaur. But Christ was therein signified: a "bull," by reason of each of His two characters,—to some fierce, as Judge; to others gentle, as Saviour; whose "horns" were to be the extremities of the *cross*. For even in a ship's yard—which is part of a *cross*—this is the name by which the extremities are called; while the central pole of the mast is a "unicorn." By this power, in fact, of the cross, and in this manner horned, He does now, on the one hand, "toss" universal nations through *faith*, wafting them away from earth to heaven; and will one day, on the other, "toss" them through *judgment*, casting them down from heaven to earth.

He, again, will be the "bull" elsewhere too in the same scripture.[4] When Jacob pronounced a blessing on Simeon and Levi, he prophesies of the scribes and Pharisees; for from them[5] is derived their[6] origin. For [his blessing] interprets spiritually thus: "Simeon and Levi perfected iniquity out of their sect,"[7]—whereby, to wit, they persecuted Christ: "into their counsel come not my soul! and upon their station rest not my heart! because in their indignation they slew men"—that is, prophets—"and in their concu-

[1] Comp. Rom. ix. 5. [2] Or, "Judah."

[3] This is an error. It is not "his father," Jacob, but Moses, who thus blesses him. See Deut. xxxiii. 17. The same error occurs in *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xxiii.

[4] Not strictly "the same," for here the reference *is* to Gen. xlix. 5–7.

[5] *i.e.* Simeon and Levi. [6] *i.e.* the scribes and Pharisees.

[7] Perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua secta. There seems to be a play on the word "secta" in connection with the outrage committed by Simeon and Levi, as recorded in Gen. xxxiv. 25–31; and for *συνετέλεσαν ἀδικίαν ἐξαιρέσεως αὐτῶν* (which is the reading of the LXX., ed. Tisch. 3, Lips. 1860), Tertullian's Latin seems to have read, *συνετέλεσαν ἀδικίαν ἐξ αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν.*

piscence they hamstrung a bull!"[1]—that is, Christ, whom—after the slaughter of prophets—they slew, and exhausted their savagery by transfixing His sinews with nails. Else it is idle if, after the murder already committed by them, he upbraids others, and not them, with butchery.[2]

But, to come now to Moses, why, I wonder, did he merely at the time when Joshua was battling against Amalek, pray *sitting* with hands expanded, when, in circumstances so critical, he ought rather, surely, to have commended his prayer by knees bended, and hands beating his breast, and a face prostrate on the ground; except it was that there, where the name of the Lord Jesus was the theme of speech—destined as He was to enter the lists one day singly against the devil—the figure of the *cross* was also necessary, [that figure] through which Jesus was to win the victory?[3] Why, again, did the same Moses, after the prohibition of any "likeness of anything,"[4] set forth a brazen serpent, placed on a "tree," in a hanging posture, for a spectacle of healing to Israel, at the time when, after their idolatry,[5] they were being exterminated by serpents, except that in this case he was exhibiting the Lord's *cross*, on which the "serpent" the devil was "made a show of,"[6] and, for every one hurt by such snakes—that is, his angels[7]—on turning intently from the peccancy of sins to the sacraments of Christ's *cross*, salvation

[1] See Gen. xlix. 5–7 in LXX.; and comp. the margin of Eng. ver. on ver. 7, and Wordsworth *in loc.*, who incorrectly renders ταῦρον an "ox" here.

[2] What the sense of this is, it is not easy to see. It appears to have puzzled Pam. and Rig. so effectually that they both, conjecturally and without authority, adopted the reading found in *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xviii. (from which book, as usual, the present passage is borrowed), only altering *illis* to *ipsis*.

[3] See Ex. xvii. 8–16; and comp. Col. ii. 14, 15.

[4] Ex. xx. 4.

[5] Their sin was "speaking against God and against Moses" (Num. xxi. 4–9).

[6] Comp. Col. ii. 14, 15, as before; also Gen. iii. 1, etc.; 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rev. xii. 9.

[7] Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15; Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 9.

was outwrought? For he who then gazed upon *that* [*cross*] was freed from the bite of the serpents.[1]

Come, now, if you have read in the utterance of the prophet in the Psalms, "God hath reigned *from the tree*,"[2] I wait to hear what you understand thereby; for fear you may perhaps think some carpenter-king[3] is signified, and not Christ, who has reigned from that time onward when He overcame the death which ensued from His passion of "the tree."

Similarly, again, Isaiah says: "For a child is born to us, and to us is given a son."[4] What novelty is that, unless he is speaking of the "Son" of God?—and one is born to us, the beginning of whose government has been made "on His shoulder." What king in the world wears the ensign of his power *on his shoulder*, and does not bear either diadem on his head, or else sceptre in his hand, or else some mark of distinctive vesture? But the *novel* "King of ages," Christ Jesus, alone reared "on His shoulder" His own *novel* glory, and power, and sublimity,—the *cross*, to wit; that, according to the former prophecy, the Lord thenceforth "might reign *from the tree*." For of this tree likewise it is that God hints, through Jeremiah, that you would say, "Come, let us put *wood*[5] *into his bread*, and let us wear him away out of the land of the living; and his name shall no more be remembered."[6] Of course on His *body* that "wood" was put;[7] for so Christ has revealed, calling His body "bread,"[8] whose body the prophet in bygone days announced under the term "bread." If you shall still seek for predictions of

[1] Comp. *de Idol.* c. v.; *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xviii.

[2] A ligno. Oehler refers us to Ps. xcvi. 10 (xcv. 10 in LXX.); but the special words "a ligno" are wanting there, though the text is often so quoted by the Fathers.

[3] Lignarium aliquem regem. It is remarkable, in connection herewith, that our Lord is not only called by the Jews "*the carpenter's son*" (Matt. xiii. 55; Luke iv. 22), but "*the carpenter*" (Mark vi. 3).

[4] See Isa. ix. 6. [5] Lignum. [6] See Jer. xi. 19 (in LXX.).

[7] *i.e.* when they laid on Him the crossbeam to carry. See John xix. 17.

[8] See John vi. *passim*, and the various accounts of the institution of the Holy Supper.

the Lord's cross, the twenty-first Psalm will at length be able to satisfy you, containing as it does the whole passion of Christ; singing, as He does, even at so early a date, His own glory.[1] "They dug," He says, "my hands and feet,"[2]—which is the peculiar atrocity of the cross; and again, when He implores the aid of the Father, "Save me," He says, "out of the mouth of the lion"—of course, of death—"and from the horn of the unicorns my humility,"[3]—from the ends, to wit, of the cross, as we have above shown; which cross neither David himself suffered, nor any of the kings of the Jews: that you may not think the passion of some other particular man is here prophesied than His who alone was so signally crucified by the People.

Now, if the hardness of your heart shall persist in rejecting and deriding all these interpretations, we will prove that it may suffice that the *death* of the Christ had been prophesied, in order that, from the fact that the *nature* of the death had not been specified, it may be understood to have been effected by means of the *cross*,[4] and that the passion of the *cross* is not to be ascribed to any but Him whose *death* was constantly being predicted. For I desire to show, in one utterance of Isaiah, His *death*, and *passion*, and *sepulture*. "By the crimes," he says, "of my people was He led unto death; and I will give the evil for His sepulture, and the rich for His death, because He did not wickedness, nor was guile found in His mouth; and God willed to redeem His soul from death,"[5] and so forth. He says again, moreover: "His sepulture hath been taken away from the midst."[6] For neither was He buried except He were dead, nor was His sepulture removed from the midst except through His resurrection. Finally, he subjoins: "Therefore He shall have many for an heritage, and of many shall He divide

[1] It is Ps. xxii. in our Bibles, xxi. in LXX.

[2] Ver. 16 (17 in LXX.).

[3] Ps. xxii. 21 (xxi. 22 in LXX., who render it as Tertullian does).

[4] *i.e.*, perhaps, because of the extreme ignominy attaching to that death, which prevented its being expressly named.

[5] Isa. liii. 8, 9, 10 (in LXX.).

[6] Isa. lvii. 2 (in LXX.).

spoils:"[1] who else [shall so do] but He who "was born," as we have above shown?—"in return for the fact that His soul was delivered unto death?" For, the *cause* of the favour accorded Him being shown,—in return, to wit, for the injury of *a death* which had to be recompensed,—it is likewise shown that He, destined to attain these rewards *because of* death, was to attain them *after* death—of course after *resurrection.* For that which happened at His passion, that mid-day grew dark, the prophet Amos announces, saying, "And it shall be," he says, "in that day, saith the Lord, the sun shall set at mid-day, and the day of light shall grow dark over the land: and I will convert your festive days into grief, and all your canticles into lamentation; and I will lay upon your loins sackcloth, and upon every head baldness; and I will make the grief like that for a beloved [son], and them that are with him like a day of mourning."[2] For that you would do thus at the beginning of the first month of your new [years] even Moses prophesied, when he was foretelling that all the community of the sons of Israel was[3] to immolate at eventide a lamb, and were to eat[4] this solemn sacrifice of this day (that is, of the passover of unleavened bread) "with bitterness;" and added that "it was the *passover of the Lord,*"[5] that is, the *passion of Christ.* Which prediction was thus also fulfilled, that "on the first day of unleavened bread"[6] you slew Christ;[7] and (that the prophecies might be fulfilled) the day hasted to make an "eventide,"—that is, to cause darkness, which was made at mid-day; and thus "your festive days God converted into grief, and your canticles into lamentation." For after the passion

[1] Isa. liii. 12 (in LXX.). Comp., too, Bp. Lowth. Oehler's pointing again appears to be faulty.

[2] See Amos viii. 9, 10 (especially in the LXX.).

[3] Oehler's "esset" appears to be a mistake for "esse."

[4] The change from singular to plural is due to the Latin, not to the translator.

[5] See Ex. xii. 1–11.

[6] See Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7; John xviii. 28.

[7] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 7.

of Christ there overtook you even captivity and dispersion, predicted before through the Holy Spirit.

Chap. xi.—*Further proofs, from Ezekiel. Summary of the prophetic argument thus far.*

For, again, it is for these deserts of yours that Ezekiel announces your ruin as about to come: and not only in this age[1]—a ruin which has already befallen—but in the "day of retribution,"[2] which will be subsequent. From which ruin none will be freed but he who shall have been frontally sealed[3] with the passion of the Christ whom you have rejected. For thus it is written: "And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, thou hast seen what the elders of Israel do, each one of them in darkness, each in a hidden bed-chamber: because they have said, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath derelinquished the earth. And He said unto me, Turn thee again, and thou shalt see greater enormities which these do. And He introduced me unto the thresholds of the gate of the house of the Lord which looketh unto the north; and, behold, there, women sitting and bewailing Thammuz. And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen? Is the house of Judah *moderate*, to do the enormities which they have done? And yet thou art about to see greater affections of theirs. And He introduced me into the inner shrine of the house of the Lord; and, behold, on the thresholds of the house of the Lord, between the midst of the porch and between the midst of the altar,[4] as it were twenty and five men have turned their backs unto the temple of the Lord, and their faces over against the east; these were adoring the sun. And He said unto me, Seest thou, son of man? Are [such deeds] trifles to the house of Judah, that they should do the enormities which these have done? because they have filled up [the measure of] their impieties, and, behold, [are] themselves, as it were, grim-

[1] Sæculo. [2] Comp. Isa. lxi. 2.

[3] Or possibly, simply, "sealed"—obsignatus.

[4] Inter mediam elam et inter medium altaris; *i.e.* probably = "between the porch and the altar," as the Eng. ver. has.

acing; I will deal with mine indignation,[1] mine eye shall not spare, neither will I pity; they shall cry out unto mine ears with a loud voice, and I will not hear them, nay, I will not pity. And He cried into mine ears with a loud voice, saying, The vengeance of this city is at hand; and each one had vessels of extermination in his hand. And, behold, six men were coming toward the way of the high gate which was looking toward the north, and each one's double-axe of dispersion was in his hand: and one man in the midst of them, clothed with a garment reaching to the feet,[2] and a girdle of sapphire about his loins: and they entered, and took their stand close to the brazen altar. And the glory of the God of Israel, which was over the house, in the open court of it,[3] ascended from the cherubim: and the Lord called the man who was clothed with the garment reaching to the feet, who had upon his loins the girdle; and said unto him, Pass through the midst of Jerusalem, and write the sign Tau[4] on the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the enormities which are done in their midst. And while these things were doing, He said unto an hearer,[5] Go ye after him into the city, and cut short; and spare not with your eyes, and pity not elder or youth or virgin; and little ones and women slay ye all, that they may be thoroughly wiped away; but all upon whom is the sign Tau approach ye not; and begin with my saints."[6] Now the mystery of this "sign" was in various ways predicted; [a "sign"] in which the foundation of life was being forelaid

[1] So Oehler points, and Tischendorf in his edition of the LXX. points not very differently. I incline to read: "Because they have filled up the measure of their impieties, and, behold, [are] themselves, as it were, grimacing, I will," etc.

[2] Comp. Rev. i. 13.

[3] "Quæ fuit super eam" (*i.e.* super domum) "in subdivali domûs" is Oehler's reading; but it differs from the LXX.

[4] The MS. which Oehler usually follows omits "Tau;" so do the LXX.

[5] Et in his dixit ad audientem. But the LXX. reading agrees almost *verbatim* with the Eng. ver.

[6] Ezek. viii. 12–ix. 6 (especially in the LXX.). Comp. *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xxii. But our author differs considerably even from the LXX.

for mankind; [a "sign"] in which the Jews were not to believe: just as Moses beforetime kept on announcing in Exodus,[1] saying, "Ye shall be ejected from the land into which ye shall enter; and in those nations ye shall not be able to rest; and there shall be instability of the print[2] of thy foot: and God shall give thee a wearying heart, and a pining soul, and failing eyes, that they see not: and thy life shall hang on the tree[3] before thine eyes; and thou shalt not trust thy life."

And so, since prophecy has been fulfilled through His advent—that is, through the nativity, which we have above commemorated, and the passion, which we have evidently explained—that is the reason withal why Daniel said, "Vision and prophet *were sealed;*" because Christ is the "signet" of all prophets, fulfilling all that had in days bygone been announced concerning Him: for, since His advent and personal passion, there is no longer "vision" or "prophet;" whence most emphatically he says that His advent "*seals* vision and prophecy." And thus, by showing "the number of the years, and the time of the lxii and an half fulfilled hebdomads," we have proved that at that specified time Christ came, that is, was born; and, [by showing the time] of the "seven and an half hebdomads," which are subdivided so as to be cut off from the former hebdomads, within which times we have shown Christ to have suffered, and by the consequent conclusion of the "lxx hebdomads," and the extermination of the city, [we have proved] that "sacrifice and unction" thenceforth cease.

Sufficient it is thus far, on these points, to have meantime traced the course of the ordained path of Christ, by which He is proved to be such as He used to be announced, even on the ground of that agreement of Scriptures, which has enabled us to speak out, in opposition to the Jews, on

[1] Or rather in Deuteronomy. See xxviii. 65 sqq.

[2] Or, "sole."

[3] In ligno. There are no such words in the LXX. If the words be retained, "*thy life*" will mean Christ, who is called "our Life" in Col. iii. 4. See also John i. 4, xiv. 6, xi. 25. And so, again, "Thou shalt not trust (or believe) *thy life*" would mean, "Thou shalt not believe Christ."

the ground[1] of the prejudgment of the major part. For let them not question or deny the writings we produce; that the fact also that things which were foretold as destined to happen *after* Christ are being recognised as fulfilled may make it impossible for them to deny [these writings] to be on a par with divine Scriptures. Else, unless He were come *after* whom the things which were wont to be announced had to be accomplished, would such as have been completed be proved [to have been so]?[2]

CHAP. XII.—*Further proofs from the calling of the Gentiles.*

Look at the universal nations thenceforth emerging from the vortex of human error to the Lord God the Creator and His Christ; and if you dare to deny that this was prophesied, forthwith occurs to you the promise of the Father in the Psalms, which says, "My Son art Thou; to-day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee Gentiles [as] Thine heritage, and [as] Thy possession [the] bounds of the earth."[3] For you will not be able to affirm that "son" to be David rather than Christ; or the "bounds of the earth" to have been promised rather to David, who reigned within the single [country of] Judea, than to Christ, who has already taken captive the whole orb with the faith of His gospel; as He says through Isaiah: "Behold, I have given Thee for a covenant[4] of my family, for a light of Gentiles, that Thou mayst open [the] eyes of [the] blind"—of course, such as err—"to outloose from bonds [the] bound"—that is, to free them from sins—"and from the house of prison"—that is, of death—"such as sit in darkness"[5]—of ignorance, to wit. And if these [blessings] accrue through Christ, they will not have been prophesied of another than Him through whom we consider them to have been accomplished.[6]

[1] Or, "in accordance with."

[2] *i.e.* Would they have happened? and, *by* happening, have been their own proof?

[3] Ps. ii. 7, 8.

[4] Dispositionem; Gr. διαθήκην.

[5] Isa. xlii. 6, 7, comp. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 14–18.

[6] Comp. Luke ii. 25–33.

Chap. xiii.—*Argument from the destruction of Jerusalem and desolation of Judea.*

Therefore, since the sons of Israel affirm that we err in receiving the Christ, who is already come, let us put in a demurrer against them out of the Scriptures themselves, to the effect that the Christ who was the theme of prediction *is* come; albeit by the times of Daniel's prediction we *have* proved that the Christ is come already who was the theme of announcement. Now it behoved Him to be born in Bethlehem of Judah. For thus it is written in the prophet: "And thou, Bethlehem, are not the least in the leaders of Judah: for out of thee shall issue a Leader, who shall feed my People Israel."[1] But if hitherto he has not been born, what "leader" was it who was thus announced as to proceed from the tribe of Judah, out of Bethlehem? For it behoves him to proceed from the tribe of Judah and from Bethlehem. But we perceive that *now* none of the race of Israel has remained in Bethlehem; and [so it has been] ever since the interdict was issued forbidding any one of the Jews to linger in the confines of the very district, in order that this prophetic utterance also should be perfectly fulfilled: "Your land [is] desert, your cities burnt up by fire," —that is, [he is foretelling] what *will have happened* to them in time of war; "your region strangers shall eat up in your sight, and it shall be desert and subverted by alien peoples."[2] And in another place it is thus said through the prophet: "The King with [His] glory ye shall see,"—that is, Christ, doing deeds of power in the glory of God the Father;[3] "and your eyes shall see [the] land from afar,"[4]—which is what you do, being prohibited, in reward of your deserts, since the storming of Jerusalem, to enter into your land; it is permitted you merely to see it with your eyes from afar: "your soul," he says, "shall meditate terror,"[5]—namely, at

[1] Mic. v. 2; Matt. ii. 3–6. Tertullian's Latin agrees rather with the Greek of St. Matthew than with the LXX.

[2] See Isa. i. 7.

[3] Comp. John v. 43, x. 37, 38.

[4] Isa. xxxiii. 17.

[5] Isa. xxxiii. 18.

the time when they suffered the ruin of themselves.[1] How, therefore, will a "leader" be born from Judea, and how far will he "proceed from Bethlehem," as the divine volumes of the prophets do plainly announce; since none at all is left there to this day of [the house of] Israel, of whose stock Christ could be born?

Now, if (according to the Jews) He is hitherto not come, when He begins to come whence will He be anointed?[2] For the Law enjoined that, in captivity, it was not lawful for the unction of the royal chrism to be compounded.[3] But, if there is no longer "unction" *there*,[4] as Daniel prophesied (for he says, "Unction shall be exterminated"), it follows that *they*[5] no longer have it, because neither have they a *temple* where was the "horn"[6] from which kings were wont to be anointed. If, then, there is no unction, whence shall be anointed the "leader" who shall be born in Bethlehem? or how shall he proceed "from Bethlehem," seeing that of the seed of Israel none at all exists in Bethlehem.

A second time, in fact, let us show that Christ is already come, [as foretold] through the prophets, and has suffered, and is already received back in the heavens, and thence is to come accordingly as the predictions prophesied. For, after His advent, we read, according to Daniel, that the city itself had to be exterminated; and we recognise that so it has befallen. For the Scripture says thus, that "the city and the holy place are simultaneously exterminated together with *the leader*,"[7] — undoubtedly [that Leader] who was to proceed "from Bethlehem," and from the tribe of "Judah."

[1] Comp. the "*failing eyes*" in the passage from Deuteronomy given in c. xi., if "eyes" is to be taken as the subject here. If not, we have another instance of the slipshod writing in which this treatise abounds.

[2] As His name "Christ" or "Messiah" implies.

[3] Comp. Ex. xxx. 22–33.

[4] *i.e.* in Jerusalem or Judea.

[5] The Jews.

[6] Comp. 1 Kings (3 Kings in LXX.) i. 39, where the Eng. ver. has "*an* horn;" the LXX. τὸ κέρας, "*the* horn;" which at that time, of course, was in David's tabernacle (2 Sam.—2 Kings in LXX.—vi. 17), for "temple" there was yet none.

[7] Dan. ix. 26.

Whence, again, it is manifest that "the city must simultaneously be exterminated" at the time when its "Leader" had to suffer in it, [as foretold] through the Scriptures of the prophets, who say: "I have outstretched my hands the whole day unto a People contumacious and gainsaying Me, who walketh in a way not good, but after their own sins."[1] And in the Psalms [David] says: "They exterminated my hands and feet: they counted all my bones; they themselves, moreover, contemplated and saw me, and in my thirst slaked me with vinegar."[2] These things *David* did not suffer, so as to seem justly to have spoken of himself; but the Christ who was crucified. Moreover, the "hands and feet" are not "exterminated,"[3] except His who is suspended on a "tree." Whence, again, David said that "the Lord would reign *from the tree:*"[4] for elsewhere, too, the prophet predicts the fruit of this "tree," saying, "The earth hath given her blessings,"[5]—of course that virgin-earth, not yet irrigated with rains, nor fertilized by showers, out of which man was of yore first formed, out of which now Christ through the flesh has been born of a virgin; "and [the] *tree*,"[6] he says, "hath brought his fruit,"[7]—not that "tree" in paradise which yielded death to the protoplasts, but the "tree" of the passion of Christ, whence life, hanging, was by you not believed![8] For this "tree," in a mystery,[9] it was of yore wherewith Moses sweetened the bitter water; whence the People, which was perishing of thirst in the desert, drank and revived;[10] just as we do, who, drawn out from the calamities of the heathendom[11] in which we were tarrying perishing with thirst (that is, deprived of the divine word), drinking, "by the faith which is on Him,"[12] the baptismal water of the

[1] See Isa. lxv. 2; Rom. x. 21.

[2] Ps. xxii. 16, 17 (xxi. 17, 18, in LXX.), and lxix. 21 (lxviii. 22 in LXX.).

[3] *i.e.* displaced, dislocated.

[4] See c. x. above.

[5] See Ps. lxvii. 6 (lxvi. 7 in LXX.), lxxxv. 12 (lxxxiv. 13 in LXX.).

[6] "Lignum," as before.

[7] See Joel ii. 22.

[8] See c. xi. above, and the note there.

[9] Sacramento.

[10] See Ex. xv. 22–26.

[11] Sæculi.

[12] See Acts xxvi. 18, *ad fin.*

"tree" of the passion of Christ, have revived,—a faith from which Israel has fallen away, [as foretold] through Jeremiah, who says, "Send, and ask exceedingly whether such things have been done, whether nations will change their gods (and these are not gods!). But My People hath changed their glory: whence no profit shall accrue to them: the heaven turned pale thereat" (and when did it turn pale? undoubtedly when Christ suffered), "and shuddered," he says, "most exceedingly;"[1] and "the sun grew dark at mid-day:"[2] (and when did it "shudder exceedingly" except at the passion of Christ, when the earth also trembled to her centre, and the veil of the temple was rent, and the tombs were burst asunder?[3]) "because these two evils hath My People done; Me," He says, "they have quite forsaken, the fount of water of life,[4] and they have digged for themselves worn-out tanks, which will not be able to contain water." Undoubtedly, by not receiving Christ, the "fount of water of life," they have begun to have "worn-out tanks," that is, synagogues for the use of the "dispersions of the Gentiles,"[5] in which the Holy Spirit no longer lingers, as for the time past He was wont to tarry in the temple before the advent of Christ, who is the true temple of God. For, that they should withal suffer this thirst of the Divine Spirit, the prophet Isaiah had said, saying: "Behold, they who serve Me shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; they who serve Me shall drink, but ye shall thirst, and from general tribulation of spirit shall howl: for ye shall transmit your name for a satiety to Mine elect, but you the Lord shall slay; but for them who serve Me shall be named a new name, which shall be blessed in the lands."[6]

Again, the mystery of this "tree"[7] we read as being celebrated even in the Books of the Reigns. For when the sons

[1] See Jer. ii. 10–12. [2] See Amos viii. 9, as before, in c. x.

[3] See Matt. xxvii. 45, 50–52; Mark xv. 33, 37, 38; Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

[4] ὕδατος ζωῆς in the LXX. here (ed. Tischendorf, who quotes the Cod. Alex. as reading, however, ὕδατος ζῶντος). Comp. Rev. xxii. 1, 17, and xxi. 6; John vii. 37–39. (The reference, it will be seen, is still to Jer. ii. 10–13; but the writer has mixed up words of Amos therewith.)

[5] Comp. the τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων of John vii. 35; and see 1 Pet. i. 1.

[6] See Isa. lxv. 13–16 in LXX. [7] Hujus ligni sacramentum.

of the prophets were cutting "wood"[1] with axes on the bank of the river Jordan, the iron flew off and sank in the stream; and so, on Elisha[2] the prophet's coming up, the sons of the prophets beg of him to extract from the stream the iron which had sunk. And accordingly Elisha, having taken "wood," and cast it into that place where the iron had been submerged, forthwith it rose and swam on the surface,[3] and the "wood" sank, which the sons of the prophets recovered.[4] Whence they understood that Elijah's spirit was presently conferred upon him.[5] What is more manifest than the mystery[6] of this "wood,"—that the obduracy of this world[7] had been sunk in the profundity of error, and is freed in baptism by the "wood" of Christ, that is, of His passion; in order that what had formerly perished through the "tree" in Adam, should be restored through the "tree" in Christ?[8] while we, of course, who have succeeded to, and occupy, the room of the prophets, at the present day sustain in the world[9] that treatment which the prophets always suffered on account of divine religion: for some they stoned, some they banished; more, however, they delivered to mortal slaughter,[10]—a fact which they cannot deny.[11]

This "wood," again, Isaac the son of Abraham personally carried for his own sacrifice, when God had enjoined that he should be made a victim to Himself. But, because these had been mysteries[12] which were being kept for perfect fulfilment in the times of Christ, Isaac, on the one hand, with his "wood," was reserved, the ram being offered which was

[1] Lignum. [2] Helisæo. Comp. Luke iv. 27.

[3] The careless construction of leaving the nominative "Elisha" with no verb to follow it is due to the original, not to the translator.

[4] See 2 Kings vi. 1–7 (4 Kings vi. 1–7 in LXX.). It is not said, however, that the wood sank.

[5] This conclusion they had drawn before, and are not said to have drawn, consequently, upon this occasion. See 2 Kings (4 Kings in LXX.) ii. 16.

[6] Sacramento. [7] "Sæculi," or perhaps here "heathendom."

[8] For a similar argument, see Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?* l. i. c. iii. *sub fin.*

[9] Sæculo. [10] Mortis necem.

[11] Comp. Acts vii. 51, 52; Heb. xi. 32–38. [12] Sacramenta.

caught by the horns in the bramble;[1] Christ, on the other hand, in His times, carried His "wood" on His own shoulders, adhering to the horns of the cross, with a thorny crown encircling His head. For Him it behoved to be made a sacrifice on behalf of all Gentiles, who "was led as a sheep for a victim, and, like a lamb voiceless before his shearer, so opened not His mouth" (for He, when Pilate interrogated Him, spake nothing[2]); for "in humility His judgment was taken away: His nativity, moreover, who shall declare?" (because no one at all of human beings was conscious of the nativity of Christ at His conception, when as the Virgin Mary was found pregnant by the word of God; and because) "His life was to be taken from the land."[3] Why, accordingly, after His resurrection from the dead, which was effected on the third day, did the heavens receive Him back? It was in accordance with a prophecy of Hosea, uttered on this wise: "Before daybreak shall they arise unto Me, saying, Let us go and return unto the Lord our God, because Himself will draw [us] out and free us. After a space of two days, on the third day"[4]—which is His glorious resurrection—He received back into the heavens (whence withal the Spirit Himself had come to the Virgin[5]) Him whose nativity and passion alike the Jews have failed to acknowledge. Therefore, since the Jews still contend that the Christ is not yet come, whom we have in so many ways approved[6] to be come, let the Jews recognise their own fate,—a fate which they were constantly foretold as destined to incur after the advent of the Christ, on account of the impiety with which they despised and slew Him. For first, from the day when, according to the saying of Isaiah, "a man cast forth his abominations, golden and silvern, which they made to adore

[1] See Gen. xxii. 1–14.

[2] See Matt. xxvii. 11–14; Mark xv. 1–5; John xix. 8–12.

[3] See Isa. liii. 7, 8.

[4] Oehler refers to Hos. vi. 1; add 2 (*ad init.*).

[5] See Luke i. 35.

[6] For this sense of the word "approve," comp. Acts ii. 22, Greek and English, and Phil. i. 10, Greek and English.

with vain and hurtful [rites],"[1] — that is, ever since we Gentiles, with our breast doubly enlightened through Christ's truth, cast forth (let the Jews see it) our idols,—what follows has likewise been fulfilled. For "the Lord of Sabaoth *hath taken away*, among the Jews and from Jerusalem," among the other things named, "the wise architect" too,[2] who builds the church, God's temple, and the holy city, and the house of the Lord. For thenceforth God's grace desisted [from working] among them. And "the clouds were commanded not to rain a shower upon the vineyard of Sorek,"[3] —the clouds being celestial benefits, which were commanded not to be forthcoming to the house of Israel; for it "had borne *thorns*"—whereof that house of Israel had wrought a crown for Christ—and not "*righteousness*, but a *clamour*,"— the clamour whereby it had extorted His surrender to the cross.[4] And thus, the former gifts of grace being withdrawn, "the law and the prophets were until John,"[5] and the fishpool of Bethsaida[6] until the advent of Christ: thereafter it ceased curatively to remove from Israel infirmities of health; since, as the result of their perseverance in their frenzy, the name of the Lord was through them blasphemed, as it is written: "On your account the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles:"[7] for it is from them that the infamy [attached to that name] began, and [by them that it was propagated during] the interval from Tiberius to Vespasian. And because they had committed these crimes, and had failed to understand that Christ "was to be found"[8] in "the time of their visitation,"[9] their land has been made

[1] See Isa. ii. 20.

[2] See Isa. iii. 1, 3; and comp. 1 Cor. iii. 10, Eph. ii. 20, 21, 1 Pet. ii. 4–8, and many similar passages.

[3] Comp. Isa. v. 2 in LXX. and Lowth.

[4] Comp. Isa. v. 6, 7, with Matt. xxvii. 20–25, Mark xv. 8–15, Luke xxiii. 13–25, John xix. 12–16.

[5] Matt. xi. 13; Luke xvi. 16.

[6] See John v. 1–9; and comp. *de Bapt.* c. v., and the note there.

[7] See Isa. lii. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 20, 23; Rom. ii. 24. (The passage in Isaiah in the LXX. agrees with Rom. ii. 24.)

[8] See Isa. lv. 6, 7.

[9] See Luke xix. 41–44.

"desert, and their cities utterly burnt with fire, while strangers devour their region in their sight: the daughter of Sion is derelict, as a watch-tower in a vineyard, or as a shed in a cucumber garden,"—ever since the time, to wit, when "Israel knew not" the Lord, and "the People understood Him not;" but rather "quite forsook, and provoked unto indignation, the Holy One of Israel."[1] So, again, we find a *conditional* threat of *the sword:* "If ye shall have been unwilling, and shall not have been obedient, the glaive shall eat you up."[2] Whence we prove that *the sword* was CHRIST, by not hearing whom they perished; who, again, in the Psalm, demands of the Father their dispersion, saying, "Disperse them in Thy power;"[3] who, withal, again through Isaiah prays for their *utter burning.* "On My account," He says, "have these things happened to you; in anxiety shall ye sleep."[4]

Since, therefore, the Jews were predicted as destined to suffer these calamities *on Christ's account,* and we find that they *have* suffered them, and see them sent into dispersion and abiding in it, manifest it is that it is on Christ's account that these things *have* befallen the Jews, the sense of the Scriptures harmonizing with the issue of events and of the order of the times. Or else, if Christ is not yet come, on whose account they were predicted as destined thus to suffer, when He *shall have* come it follows that they *will* thus suffer. And where will then be a daughter of Sion to be derelict, who *now* has no existence? where the cities to be exust, which are already exust and in heaps? where the dispersion of a race which is now in exile? Restore to Judea the condition which Christ is to find; and [then, if you will,] contend that some other [Christ] is coming.

CHAP. XIV.—*Conclusion. Clue to the error of the Jews.*

Learn now (over and above the immediate question) the clue to your error. We affirm *two* characters of the Christ demonstrated by the prophets, and as many *advents* of His forenoted: one, in humility (of course the first), when He

[1] See Isa. i. 7, 8, 4.
[2] Isa. i. 20.
[3] See Ps. lix. 11 (lviii. 12 in LXX.).
[4] See Isa. l. 11 in LXX.

had to be led "as a sheep for a victim; and, as a lamb voiceless before the shearer, so He opened not His mouth," not even in His aspect comely. For "we have announced," says [the prophet], "concerning Him, [He is] as a little child, as a root in a thirsty land; and there was not in Him attractiveness or glory. And we saw Him, and He had not attractiveness or grace; but His mien was unhonoured, deficient in comparison of the sons of men,"[1] "a man [set] in the plague,[2] and knowing how to bear infirmity:" to wit, as having been set by the Father "for a stone of offence,"[3] and "made a little lower" by Him "than angels,"[4] He pronounces Himself "a worm, and not a man, an ignominy of man, and [the] refuse of [the] People."[5] Which evidences of ignobility suit the FIRST ADVENT, just as those of sublimity do the SECOND; when He shall be made no longer "a stone of offence nor a rock of scandal," but "the highest corner-stone,"[6] after reprobation [on earth] taken up [into heaven] and raised sublime for the purpose of consummation,[7] and that "rock"—so we must admit—which is read of in Daniel as forecut from a mount, which shall crush and crumble the image of secular kingdoms.[8] Of which second advent of the same [Christ] Daniel has said: "And, behold, as it were a Son of man, coming with the clouds of the heaven, came unto the Ancient of days, and was present in His sight; and they who were standing by led [Him] unto Him. And there was given Him royal power; and all nations of the earth, according to their race,

[1] See Isa. liii. 2 in LXX.

[2] See Ps. xxxviii. 17 in the "Great Bible" (xxxvii. 18 in LXX.). Also Isa. liii. 3 in LXX.

[3] See Isa. viii. 14 (where, however, the LXX. rendering is widely different) with Rom. ix. 32, 33; Ps. cxviii. 22 (cxvii. 22 in LXX.); 1 Pet. ii. 4.

[4] See Ps. viii. 5 (viii. 6 in LXX.) with Heb. ii. 5–9.

[5] See Ps. xxii. 6 (xxi. 7 in LXX., the Alex. MS. of which here agrees well with Tertullian).

[6] See reference 3 above, with Isa. xxviii. 16.

[7] Comp. Eph. i. 10.

[8] Or, "worldly kingdoms." See Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45.

and all glory, shall serve Him: and His power [is] eternal, which shall not be taken away, and His kingdom [one] which shall not be corrupted."[1] Then, assuredly, is He to have an honourable mien, and a grace not "deficient more than the sons of men;" for [He will then be] "blooming in beauty in comparison with the sons of men."[2] "Grace," says [the Psalmist], "hath been outpoured in Thy lips: wherefore God hath blessed Thee unto eternity. Gird Thee Thy sword around Thy thigh, most potent in Thy bloom and beauty!"[2] while the Father withal afterwards, after making Him somewhat lower than angels, "crowned Him with glory and honour, and subjected all [things] beneath His feet."[3] And then shall they "learn to know Him whom they pierced, and shall beat their breasts tribe by tribe;"[4] of course because in days bygone they did *not* know Him when conditioned in the humility of human estate. Jeremiah says: "He is a human being, and who will learn to know Him?"[5] because, "His nativity," says Isaiah, "who shall declare?" So, too, in Zechariah, in His own person, nay, in the very mystery[6] of His name withal, the most true Priest of the Father, His own[7] Christ, is delineated in a twofold garb with reference to the TWO ADVENTS.[8] First, He was clad in "sordid attire," that is, in the indignity of passible and mortal flesh, when the devil, withal, was opposing himself to Him—the instigator, to wit, of Judas the traitor[9]—who even after

[1] See Dan. vii. 13, 14. [2] See c. ix. *med.*

[3] See Ps. viii. 5, 6 (6, 7 in LXX.); Heb. ii. 6–9.

[4] See Zech. xii. 10, 12 (where the LXX., as we have it, differs widely from our Eng. ver. in ver. 10); Rev. i. 7.

[5] See Jer. xvii. 9 in LXX. [6] Sacramento.

[7] The reading which Oehler follows, and which seems to have the best authority, is "verissimus sacerdos Patris, Christus Ipsius," as in the text. But Rig., whose judgment is generally very sound, prefers, with some others, to read, "verus summus sacerdos Patris Christus Jesus;" which agrees better with the previous allusion to "the mystery of His name withal:" comp. c. ix. above, towards the end.

[8] See Zech. iii. "The mystery of His name" refers to the meaning of "Jeshua," for which see c. ix. above.

[9] Comp. John vi. 70 and xiii. 2 (especially in Greek, where the word διάβολος is used in each case).

His baptism had tempted Him. In the next place, He was stripped of His former sordid raiment, and adorned with a garment down to the foot, and with a turban and a clean mitre, that is, [with the garb] of the SECOND ADVENT; since He is demonstrated as having attained "glory and honour." Nor will you be able to say that the man [there depicted] is "the son of Jozadak,"[1] who was never at all clad in a sordid garment, but was always adorned with the sacerdotal garment, nor ever deprived of the sacerdotal function. But the "Jesus"[2] there alluded to is CHRIST, the Priest of God the most high Father; who at His FIRST ADVENT came in humility, in human form, and passible, even up to the period of His [actual] passion; being Himself likewise made, through all [stages of suffering], a victim for us all; who after His resurrection was "clad with a garment down to the foot,"[3] and named the Priest of God the Father unto eternity.[4] So, again, I will make an interpretation of the two goats which were habitually offered on the fast-day.[5] Do not they, too, point to each successive stage in the character of the Christ who is already come? A pair, on the one hand, and consimilar [they were], because of the identity of the Lord's general appearance; inasmuch as He is not to come in some other form, seeing that He has to be recognised by those by whom He was once hurt. But the one of them, begirt with scarlet, amid cursing and universal spitting, and tearing, and piercing, was cast away by the People outside the city into perdition, marked with manifest tokens of Christ's passion; who, after being begirt with scarlet garment, and subjected to universal spitting, and afflicted with all contumelies, was crucified outside the city.[6] The other, however, offered for sins, and given as food *to the*

[1] Or "Josedech," as Tertullian here writes, and as we find in Hag. i. 1, 12, ii. 2, 4, Zech. vi. 11, and in the LXX.

[2] Or, "Jeshua."

[3] See Rev. i. 13.

[4] See Ps. cx. (cix. in LXX.) 4; Heb. v. 5–10.

[5] See Lev. xvi.

[6] Comp. Heb. xiii. 10–13. It is to be noted, however, that all this spitting, etc., formed no part of the divinely ordained ceremony.

priests merely of the temple,[1] gave signal evidences of the second appearance; in so far as, after the expiation of all sins, the priests of the spiritual temple, that is, of the church, were to enjoy[2] a spiritual public distribution (as it were) of the Lord's grace, while all others are fasting from salvation.

Therefore, since the vaticinations of the FIRST ADVENT obscured it with manifold figures, and debased it with every dishonour, while the SECOND [was foretold as] manifest and wholly worthy of God, it has resulted therefrom, that, by fixing their gaze on that one alone which they could easily understand and believe (that is, the SECOND, which is in honour and glory), they have been (not undeservedly) deceived as to the more obscure—at all events, the more unworthy—that is, the FIRST. And thus to the present moment they affirm that their Christ is not come, because He is not come in majesty; while they are ignorant of[3] the fact that He was first to come in humility.

Enough it is, meantime, to have thus far followed the stream downward of the order of Christ's course, whereby He is proved such as He was habitually announced: in order that, as a result of this harmony of the Divine Scriptures, we may understand; and that the events which used to be predicted as destined to take place after Christ may be believed to have been accomplished as the result of a divine arrangement. For unless He had come *after* whom they had to be accomplished, by no means would the events, the future occurrence whereof was predictively assigned to His advent, have transpired. Therefore, if you see universal nations thenceforth emerging from the profundity of human error to God the Creator and His Christ (which you dare not assert to have not been prophesied, because, albeit you were so to assert, there would forthwith—as we have already premised[4]—occur to you the promise of the Father, saying, "My Son art Thou; I this day have begotten Thee; ask of Me,

[1] This appears to be an error. See Lev. vi. 30.

[2] Unless Oehler's "fruerentur" is an error for "fruentur" = "will enjoy."

[3] Or, "ignore."

[4] See cc. xi. xii. above.

and I will give Thee Gentiles [as] Thine heritage, and [as] Thy possession the boundaries of the earth." Nor will you be able to vindicate, as the subject of that prediction, rather the son of David, Solomon, than Christ, God's Son; nor "the boundaries of the earth," as promised rather to David's son, who reigned within the single land of Judea, than to Christ the Son of God, who has already illumined the whole world[1] with the rays of His gospel. In short, again, a throne "unto the age"[2] is more suitable to Christ, God's Son, than to Solomon,—a temporal king, to wit, who reigned over Israel alone. For at the present day nations are invoking Christ which used not to know Him; and peoples at the present day are fleeing in a body to the Christ of whom in days bygone they were ignorant[3]), you cannot contend that that is future which you see taking place.[4] Either deny that these events were prophesied, while they are seen before your eyes; or else have been fulfilled, while you hear them read: or, on the other hand, if you fail to deny each position, they will have their fulfilment in Him with respect to whom they were prophesied.

[1] Orbem.

[2] Or, "unto eternity." Comp. 2 Sam. (2 Kings in LXX.) vii. 13; 1 Chron. xvii. 12; Ps. lxxxix. 3, 4, 29, 35, 36, 37 (in LXX. Ps. lxxxviii. 4, 5, 30, 36, 37, 38).

[3] See Isa. lv. 5 (especially in the LXX.).

[4] Oehler's pointing is discarded. The whole passage, from "which you dare not assert" down to "ignorant," appears to be parenthetical; and I have therefore marked it as such.

AGAINST ALL HERESIES.

Chap. I.—*Earliest Heretics:* Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Nicolaus.

. . . . . .

OF which heretics I will (to pass by a good deal) summarize some few particulars. For of Judaism's heretics I am silent—Dositheus the Samaritan, I mean, who was the first who had the hardihood to repudiate the prophets, on the ground that they had not spoken under inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Of the Sadducees I am silent, who, springing from the root of this error, had the hardihood to adjoin to this heresy the denial likewise of the resurrection of the flesh.[1] The Pharisees I pretermit, who were "divided" from the Jews by their superimposing of certain additaments to the law, which fact likewise made them worthy of receiving this very name;[2] and, together with them, the Herodians likewise, who said that Herod was Christ. To those I betake myself who have chosen to make the gospel the starting-point of their heresies.

Of these the first of all is Simon Magus, who in the Acts of the Apostles earned a condign and just sentence from the Apostle Peter.[3] He had the hardihood to call himself the Supreme Virtue,[4] that is, the Supreme God; and moreover, [to assert] that the universe[5] had been originated by his angels; that he had descended in quest of an erring dæmon,[6] which was Wisdom; that, in a phantasmal semblance of God,

[1] See Acts xxiii. 8, and the references there.
[2] Pharisees = Separatists.
[3] See Acts viii. 9–24.
[4] I use Virtue in this and similar cases in its Miltonic sense.
[5] Mundum.
[6] Or, "intelligence."

he had *not* suffered among the Jews, but was *as if he had suffered.*[1]

After him MENANDER, his disciple (likewise a magician[2]), saying the same as SIMON. Whatever SIMON had affirmed himself to be, this did MENANDER equally affirm himself to be, asserting that none could possibly have salvation without being baptized in his name.

Afterwards, again, followed SATURNINUS: he, too, affirming that the innascible[3] Virtue, that is, God, abides in the highest regions, and that those regions are infinite, and in the regions immediately above us; but that angels far removed from Him made the lower world;[4] and that, because light from above had flashed refulgently in the lower regions, the angels had carefully tried to form man after the similitude of that light; that man lay crawling on the surface of the earth; that this light and this higher virtue was, thanks to mercy, the salvable spark in man, while all the rest of him perishes;[5] that Christ had not existed in a bodily substance, and had endured a *quasi*-passion in a phantasmal shape merely; that a resurrection of the flesh there will by no means be.

Afterwards broke out the heretic BASILIDES. He affirms that there is a supreme Deity, by name Abraxas,[6] by whom was created Mind, which in Greek he calls *Νοῦς*; that thence sprang the Word; that of Him issued Providence, Virtue,[7] and Wisdom; that out of these subsequently were made Principalities, Powers,[8] and Angels; that there ensued infinite issues and processions of angels; that by these angels 365 heavens were formed, and the world,[9] in honour of Abraxas, whose name, if computed, has in itself this number. Now, among the last of the angels, those who made this world,[9] he places the God of the Jews latest, that is, the God

[1] Or, "but had undergone *a quasi-passion.*"

[2] Magus.

[3] "Innascibilem;" but Fr. Junius' conjecture, "innoscibilem," is agreeable to the Greek "ἄγνωστος."

[4] Mundum.

[5] The text here is partially conjectural, and, if correct, clumsy. For the sense, see *de Anima*, c. xxiii. *ad init.*

[6] Or, Abraxes, or Abrasax.

[7] Or, Power.

[8] Potestates.

[9] Mundum.

of the Law and of the Prophets, whom he denies to be a God, but affirms to be an angel. To him, he says, was allotted the seed of Abraham, and accordingly he it was who transferred the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt into the land of Canaan; affirming him to be turbulent above the other angels, and accordingly given to the frequent arousing of seditions and wars, yes, and the shedding of human blood. Christ, moreover, he affirms to have been sent, not by this maker of the world,[1] but by the above-named Abraxas; and to have come in a phantasm, and been destitute of the substance of flesh: that it was not He who suffered among the Jews, but that Simon[2] was crucified in His stead: whence, again, there must be no believing on him who was crucified, lest one confess to having believed on Simon. Martyrdoms, he says, are not to be endured. The resurrection of the flesh he strenuously impugns, affirming that salvation has not been promised to *bodies*.

A brother heretic[3] emerged [to light] in NICOLAUS. He was one of the seven deacons who were appointed in the Acts of the Apostles.[4] He affirms that Darkness was seized with a concupiscence—and, indeed, a foul and obscene one—after Light: out of this permixture it is a shame to say what fetid and unclean [combinations arose]. The rest [of his tenets], too, are obscene. For he tells of certain Æons, sons of turpitude, and of conjunctions of execrable and obscene embraces and permixtures,[5] and certain yet baser outcomes of these. He teaches that there were born, moreover, dæmons, and gods, and spirits seven, and other things sufficiently sacrilegious alike and foul, which we blush to recount, and at once pass them by. Enough it is for us that this heresy of the Nicolaitans has been condemned by the Apocalypse of the Lord with the

[1] Mundum.

[2] *i.e.* probably "Simon the Cyrenian." See. Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26.

[3] Alter hæreticus. But Fr. Junius suggests "aliter."

[4] See Acts vi. 1–6.

[5] So Oehler gives in his text. But his suggestion, given in a note, is perhaps preferable: "and of execrable embraces and permixtures, and obscene conjunctions."

weightiest authority attaching to a sentence, in saying, "Because this thou holdest, thou hatest the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which I too hate."[1]

Chap. ii.—Ophites, Cainites, Sethites.

To these are added those heretics likewise who are called Ophites:[2] for the serpent they magnify to such a degree, that they prefer him even to Christ Himself; for it was he, they say, who gave us the origin of the knowledge of good and of evil.[3] His power and majesty (they say) Moses perceiving, set up the brazen serpent; and whoever gazed upon him obtained health.[4] Christ Himself (they say further) in His gospel imitates Moses' serpent's sacred power, in saying: "And as Moses upreared the serpent in the desert, so it behoveth the Son of man to be upreared."[5] Him they introduce to bless their eucharistic [elements].[6] Now the whole parade and doctrine of this error flowed from the following source. They say that from the supreme primary Æon [whom men speak of[7]] there emanated several other inferior Æons. To all these, however, there opposed himself an Æon whose name is *Ialdabaoth*.[8] He had been conceived by the permixture of a second Æon with inferior Æons; and afterwards, when he[9] had been desirous of forcing his way into the higher regions, had been disabled by the permixture of the gravity of matter with himself to arrive at the higher regions; had been left in the midst, and had extended himself to his full dimensions, and thus had made the sky.[10] *Ialdabaoth*, however, had descended lower, and had made

[1] See Rev. ii. 6. [2] Or, "Serpentarians," from ὄφις, a serpent.
[3] See Gen. iii. 1–7. [4] See Num. xxi. 4–9. [5] John iii. 14.
[6] Eucharistia (neut. pl.) = εὐχαριστεῖα (Fr. Junius in Oehler): perhaps "*the places in which* they celebrate the eucharist."
[7] These words are intended to give the force of the "illo" of the original.
[8] Robertson (*Ch. Hist.* i. p. 39, note 2, ed. 2, 1858) seems to take this word to mean "Son of Darkness or Chaos."
[9] "Seque" Oehler reads here, which appears bad enough Latin, unless his "se" after "extendisse" is an error.
[10] Or, "heaven."

him seven sons, and had shut from their view the upper regions by self-distension, in order that, since [these] angels could not know what was above,[1] they might think him the sole God. These inferior Virtues and angels, therefore, had made *man;* and, because he had been originated by weaker and mediocre powers, he lay crawling, worm-like. That Æon, however, out of which *Ialdabaoth* had proceeded, moved to the heart with envy, had injected into man as he lay a certain spark; excited whereby, he was through prudence to grow wise, and be able to understand the things above. So, again, the *Ialdabaoth* aforesaid, turning indignant, had emitted out of himself the Virtue and similitude of *the serpent;* and this had been the Virtue in paradise—that is, this had been the *serpent*—whom Eve had believed as if he had been God the Son.[2] He[3] plucked, say they, from the fruit of the tree, and thus conferred on mankind the knowledge of things good and evil.[4] Christ, moreover, existed not in substance of flesh: salvation of the flesh is not to be hoped for at all.

Moreover, also, there has broken out another heresy also, which is called that of the CAINITES.[5] And the reason is, that they magnify *Cain* as if he had been conceived of some potent Virtue which operated in him; for Abel had been procreated after being conceived of an inferior Virtue, and accordingly had been found inferior. They who assert this likewise defend the traitor Judas, telling us that he is admirable and great, because of the advantages he is vaunted to have conferred on mankind; for some of them think that thanksgiving is to be rendered to Judas on this account: viz. Judas, they say, observing that Christ wished to subvert the truth, betrayed Him, in order that there might be no possibility of truth's being subverted. And others thus dispute against them, and say: Because the powers of this world[6] were unwilling that Christ should suffer, lest through His death salvation should be prepared for mankind, he, consulting for the salvation of mankind, betrayed Christ, in order

[1] Or, "what the upper regions were." [2] Filio Deo.
[3] Or, "she;" but perhaps the text is preferable.
[4] See Gen. iii. 1–7. [5] See *de Bapt.* c. i. [6] Mundi.

that there might be no possibility at all of the salvation being impeded, which *was* being impeded through the Virtues which were opposing Christ's passion; and thus, through the passion of Christ, there might be no possibility of the salvation of mankind being retarded.

But, again, the heresy has started forth which is called that of the SETHITES.[1] The doctrine of this perversity is as follows. Two human beings were formed by the angels —Cain and Abel. On their account arose great contentions and discords among the angels: for this reason, that Virtue which was above all the Virtues—which they style the Mother —when they said[2] that Abel had been slain, willed this Seth of theirs to be conceived and born in place of Abel, in order that those angels might be escheated who had created those two former human beings, while this pure seed rises and is born. For they say that there had been iniquitous permixtures of angels and human beings; for which reason that Virtue which (as we have said) they style the Mother brought on the deluge even, for the purpose of vengeance, in order that that seed of permixture might be swept away, and this only seed which was pure be kept entire. But [in vain]: for they who had originated those of the former seed sent into the ark (secretly and stealthily, and unknown to that Mother-Virtue), together with those "eight souls,"[3] the seed likewise of Ham, in order that the seed of evil should not perish, but should, together with the rest, be preserved, and after the deluge be restored to the earth, and, by example of the rest, should grow up and diffuse itself, and fill and occupy the whole orb.[4] Of Christ, moreover, their sentiments are such that they call Him merely Seth, and say that He was instead of the actual Seth.

CHAP. III.—CARPOCRATES, CERINTHUS, EBION.

CARPOCRATES, furthermore, introduced the following

[1] Or, Sethoites.

[2] "Dicerent;" but Routh (I think) has conjectured "disceret" = "when *she learned*," etc., which is very simple and apt.

[3] See 1 Pet. iii. 20.

[4] Cf. Gen. ix. 1, 2, 7, 19.

sect. He affirms that there is one Virtue, the chief among the upper [regions]: that out of this were produced angels and Virtues, which, being far distant from the upper Virtues, created this world[1] in the lower regions: that Christ was not born of *the Virgin* Mary, but was generated—a mere human being—of the seed of Joseph, superior (they admit) above all others in the practice of righteousness and in integrity of life; that He suffered among the Jews; and that His *soul* alone was received in heaven as having been more firm and hardy than all others: whence he would infer, retaining only the salvation of souls, that there are no resurrections of the body.

After him brake out the heretic CERINTHUS, teaching similarly. For he, too, says that the world[1] was originated by those [angels[2]]; and sets forth Christ as born of the seed of Joseph, contending that He was merely human, without divinity; affirming also that the Law was given by angels;[3] representing the God of the Jews as not the Lord, but an angel.

His successor was EBION,[4] not agreeing with CERINTHUS in every point; in that he affirms the world[1] to have been made by God, not by angels; and because it is written, "No disciple above [his] master, nor servant above [his] lord,"[5] sets forth likewise the law [as binding[6]], of course for the purpose of excluding the gospel and vindicating Judaism.

CHAP. IV.—VALENTINUS, PTOLEMY *and* SECUNDUS, HERACLEON.

VALENTINUS the heretic, moreover, introduced many

[1] Mundum.

[2] "Ab illis" is perhaps an error for "ab angelis," by absorption of the first syllable. (So Routh had conjectured before me.)

[3] "*Ab* angelis:" an erroneous notion, which professed probably to derive support from John i. 17, Acts vii. 53, Gal. iii. 19, where, however, the Greek prepositions should be carefully noted, and ought in no case to be rendered by "ab."

[4] *Al.* Hebion. [5] See Matt. x. 24; Luke vi. 40; John xiii. 16.

[6] *i.e.* as Rig.'s quotation from Jerome's *Indiculus* (in Oehler) shows, "because, and in so far as, Christ observed it."

fables. These I will retrench and briefly summarize. For he introduces the Pleroma and the thirty Æons. These Æons, moreover, he explains in the way of syzygies, that is, conjugal unions[1] of some kind. For among the first,[2] he says, were Depth[3] and Silence; of these proceeded Mind and Truth; out of whom burst the Word and Life; from whom, again, were created Man[4] and the Church. But [these are not all]; for of these last also proceeded twelve Æons; from Speech,[5] moreover, and Life [proceeded] other ten Æons: such is the Triacontad of Æons, which is made up in the Pleroma of an ogdoad, a decad, and a duodecad. The thirtieth Æon, moreover, willed to see the great Bythus; and, to see him, had the hardihood to ascend into the upper regions; and not being capable of seeing his magnitude, desponded,[6] and almost suffered dissolution, had not some one,—he whom he calls Horos, to wit,—sent to invigorate him, strengthened him by pronouncing the word "Iao."[7] This Æon, moreover, which was thus reduced to despondency, he calls Achamoth, [and says] that he was seized with certain regretful passions, and out of his passions gave birth to material essences.[8] For

[1] Conjugationes. Cowper uses our word "conjugation" in this sense in one of his humorous pieces. The "syzygies" consisted of one male and one female Æon each.

[2] Oehler separates "in primis;" but perhaps they ought to be united—"inprimis," or "imprimis"—and taken as = "primo ab initio."

[3] Bythus.

[4] Hominem.

[5] "Sermone:" he said "Verbum" before.

[6] In defectione fuisse.

[7] Cf. *adv. Valent.* cc. x. xiv.

[8] Such appears to be the meaning of this sentence as Oehler gives it. But the text is here corrupt; and it seems plain there must either be something lost relating to this "Achamoth," or else some capital error in the reading, or, thirdly, some gross and unaccountable confusion in the writer: for the sentence as it stands is wholly irreconcilable with what follows. It evidently makes "Achamoth" identical with "the thirtieth Æon" above-named; and yet, without introducing any fresh subject, the writer goes on to state that this despondent Æon, who "conceived and bare," was itself the offspring of despondency, and made an infirm world out of the infirm materials which "Achamoth" supplied it with. Now it is apparent from other sources—as, for instance, from *Tert. adv. Valentin.* above referred to—that the "thirtieth Æon" was supposed to be *female*, *Sophia* (Wisdom) by name, and that she was said to

he was panic-stricken, he says, and terror-stricken, and overcome with sadness; and of these passions he conceived and bare. Hence he made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and whatever is in them: for which cause all things made by him are infirm, and frail, and capable of falling, and mortal, inasmuch as he himself was conceived and produced from despondency. He, however, originated this world[1] out of those material essences which Achamoth, by his panic, or terror, or sadness, or sweat, had supplied. For of his panic, he says, was made darkness; of his fear and ignorance, the spirits of wickedness and malignity; of his sadness and tears, the humidities of founts, the material essence of floods and sea. Christ, moreover, was sent by that First-Father who is Bythus. He, moreover, was not in the substance of our flesh; but, bringing down from heaven some spiritual body or other, passed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe, neither receiving nor borrowing aught thence. The resurrection of our present flesh he denies, but [maintains that] of some sister-flesh.[2] Of the Law and the prophets some parts he approves, some he disapproves; that is, he

be *the parent* of "Achamoth," or "Enthymesis" (see *adv. Valentin.* cc. ix. x. xi. xiv. xxv.), while "Achamoth" herself appears by some accounts to be also called κάτω Σοφία. The name "Achamoth" itself, which Tertullian (*adv. Valentin.* c. xiv. *ad init.*) calls an "uninterpretable name," is believed to be a representation of a Hebrew word meaning "wisdom;" and hence, possibly, some of the confusion may have arisen, —from a promiscuous use, namely, of the titles "Achamoth" and "Sophia." Moreover, it would appear that some words lower down as to the production by "Achamoth" of "Demiurgus," must have dropped out. Unless these two omissions be supplied, the passage is wholly unintelligible. Can the fact that the Hebrew word which "Achamoth" represents is a *fem. pl.* in any way explain this confused medley, or help to reconcile conflicting accounts? The ἄνω and κάτω Σοφία seem to point in some degree to some such solution of some of the existing difficulties. "Iao," again, is a word which has caused much perplexity. Can it possibly be connected with ἰάομαι, "to heal?"

[1] Mundum.

[2] Oehler's suggestion is to vary the pointing so as to give this sense: "The resurrection of this flesh he denies. But of a sister-Law and prophets," etc. But this seems even more harsh than the other.

disapproves all in reprobating some. A Gospel of his own he likewise has, beside these of ours.

After him arose the heretics PTOLEMY and SECUNDUS, who agree throughout with VALENTINUS, differing only in the following point: viz. whereas VALENTINUS had feigned but thirty Æons, they have added several more; for they first added four, and subsequently four more. And VALENTINE's assertion, that it was the thirtieth Æon which strayed out from the Pleroma, (as [falling] into despondency,) they deny; for the one which desponded on account of disappointed yearning to see the First-Father was not of the original triacontad, they say.

There arose, besides, HERACLEON, a brother[1]-heretic, whose sentiments pair with VALENTINE's; but, by some novelty of terminology, he is desirous of seeming to differ in sentiment. For he introduces the notion that there existed first what he terms [a Monad];[2] and then out of that Monad [arose] two, and then the rest of the Æons. Then he introduces the whole [system of] VALENTINE.

CHAP. V.—MARCUS *and* COLARBASUS.

After these there were not wanting a MARCUS and a COLARBASUS, composing a novel heresy out of the Greek alphabet. For they affirm that without those letters truth cannot be found; nay more, that in those letters the whole plenitude and perfection of truth is comprised; for this was why Christ said, "I am the Alpha and the Omega."[3] In fact, they say that Jesus Christ descended,[4] that is, that *the*

[1] "Alter," *i.e.* perhaps another *of the same class.*

[2] It seems almost necessary to supply some word here; and as "Monade" follows, it seemed simple to supply "Monada."

[3] See Rev. i. 7, xxi. 6, xxii. 13.

[4] Denique Jesum Christum descendisse. So Oehler, who does not notice any conjectural emendation, or various reading, of the words. If correct, his reading would refer to the views of a twofold Jesus Christ—a real and a phantasmal one—held by docetic Gnostics, or to such views as Valentine's, in whose system, so far as it is ascertainable from the confused and discrepant accounts of it, there would appear to have been one Æon called Christ, another called Jesus, and a human person called Jesus and

dove came down on Jesus;[1] and, since the dove is styled by the Greek name περιστερά (*peristera*), it has in itself this number DCCCI.[2] These men run through their Ω, Ψ, X, Φ, Υ, Τ—through the whole alphabet, indeed, up to *A* and *B*—and compute ogdoads and decads. So we may grant it useless and idle to recount all their trifles. What, however, must be allowed not merely vain, but likewise dangerous, is this: they feign a second God, beside the Creator; they affirm that Christ was not in the substance of flesh; they say there is to be no resurrection of the flesh.

Chap. vi.—Cerdo, Marcion, Lucan, Apelles.

To these is added one Cerdo. He introduces two first causes,[3] that is, two Gods—one good, the other cruel:[4] the good being the superior; the latter, the cruel one, being the creator of the world.[5] He repudiates the prophecies and the Law; renounces God the Creator; maintains that Christ who came was the Son of the superior God; affirms that He was not in the substance of flesh; states Him to have been only in a phantasmal shape, to have not really suffered, but undergone a quasi-passion, and not to have been born of a virgin, *nay*, really not to have been born at all. A resurrection of the soul merely does he approve, denying that of the body. The Gospel of Luke alone, and that not entire, does he receive. Of the Apostle Paul he takes neither all the epistles, nor in their integrity. The Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse he rejects as false.

Christ, with whom the true Jesus associated Himself. Some such jumble of ideas the two heretics now under review would seem to have held, if Oehler's be the true reading. But the difficulties are somewhat lessened if we accept the very simple emendation which naturally suggests itself, and which, I see, Semler has proposed and Routh inclines to receive, "*in* Jesum Christum descendisse," *i.e.* "that Christ descended *on* Jesus."

[1] See Matt. iii. 13–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21, 22; John i. 29–34.

[2] Habere *secum* numerum DCCCI. So Oehler, after Jos. Scaliger (who, however, seems to have read "*secum hunc* numerum"), for the ordinary reading, "habere *secundum* numerum," which would mean, "represents, *in the way of* numerical value, DCCCI."

[3] Initia duo. [4] Sævum. [5] Mundi.

After him emerged a disciple of his, one MARCION by name, a native of Pontus,[1] son of a bishop, excommunicated because of a rape committed on a certain virgin.[2] He, starting from the fact that it is said, "Every good tree beareth good fruits, but an evil evil,"[3] attempted to approve the heresy of CERDO; so that his assertions are identical with those of the former heretic before him.

After him arose one LUCAN by name, a follower and disciple of MARCION. He, too, wading through the same kinds of blasphemy, teaches the same as MARCION and CERDO had taught.

Close on their heels follows APELLES, a disciple of MARCION, who, after lapsing into his own carnality,[4] was severed from MARCION. He introduces one God in the infinite upper regions, and states that He made many powers and angels; beside Him, withal, another Virtue, which he affirms to be called Lord, but represents as an angel. By him he will have it appear that the world[5] was originated in imitation of a superior world.[6] With this [lower] world he mingled throughout [a principle of] repentance, because he had not made it so perfectly as that superior world had been originated. The Law and the prophets he repudiates. Christ he neither, like MARCION, affirms to have been in a phantasmal shape, nor yet in substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but says, because He descended from the upper regions, that in the course of His descent He wove together for Himself a starry and airy[7] flesh; and, in His resurrection, restored, in the course of His ascent, to the several individual elements whatever had been borrowed in His descent: and

[1] "Ponticus genere," lit. "a Pontic *by race*," which of course may not necessarily, like our *native*, imply actual *birth* in Pontus.

[2] Rig., with whom Oehler agrees, reminds us that neither in the *de Præscr.* nor in the *adv. Marc.*, nor (apparently) in Irenæus, is any such statement brought forward.

[3] See Matt. vii. 17.

[4] See *de Præscr.* c. xxx., and comp. with it what is said of Marcion above.

[5] Mundum. [6] Mundi.

[7] "Aëream," *i.e.* composed of the air, the *lower* air, or atmosphere; not "æthereum," of the *upper* air, or ether.

thus—the several parts of His body dispersed—He reinstated in heaven His spirit only. This man denies the resurrection of the flesh. He uses, too, one only apostle; but that is MARCION'S, that is, a mutilated one. He teaches the salvation of souls alone. He has, besides, private but extraordinary lections of his own, which he calls "Manifestations,"[1] [the productions] of one Philumene,[2] a girl whom he follows as a prophetess. He has, besides, his own books, which he has entitled [books] of Syllogisms, in which he seeks to prove that whatever Moses has written about God is not true, but is false.

CHAP. VII.—TATIAN, CATAPHRYGIANS, CATAPROCLANS, CATÆSCHINETANS.

To all these heretics is added one TATIAN, a brother-heretic. This man was Justin Martyr's disciple. After Justin's death he began to cherish different opinions from his. For he wholly savours of VALENTINUS; adding this, that Adam cannot even attain salvation: as if, when the branches become salvable,[3] the root were not!

Other heretics swell the list who are called CATAPHRYGIANS, but their teaching is not uniform. For there are [of them] who are called CATAPROCLANS;[4] there are others who are termed CATÆSCHINETANS.[5] These have a blasphemy common, and a blasphemy not common, but peculiar and special. The common blasphemy lies in their saying that the Holy Spirit was in the apostles indeed, the Paraclete was not; and in their saying that the Paraclete has spoken in MONTANUS more things than Christ brought forward into [the compass of] the Gospel, and not merely more, but likewise better and greater. But the particular one they who

[1] Phaneroseis. Oehler refers to *de Præscr.* c. xxx. *q.v.*

[2] Φιλουμένη, "loved one."

[3] Salvi. Perhaps, if it be questionable whether this word may be so rendered in a correct Latinist, it may be lawful to render it so in so incorrect a one as our present author.

[4] *i.e.* followers of Proclus.

[5] *i.e.* followers of Æschines. So this writer takes "Cataphryges" to mean "followers of the Phrygians."

follow ÆSCHINES have; this, namely, whereby they add this, that they affirm Christ to be Himself Son and Father.

CHAP. VIII.—BLASTUS, *two* THEODOTI, PRAXEAS.

In addition to all these, there is likewise BLASTUS, who would latently introduce Judaism. For he says the passover is not to be kept otherwise than according to the law of Moses, on the fourteenth of the month. But who would fail to see that evangelical grace is escheated if he recalls Christ to the Law?

Add to these THEODOTUS the Byzantine, who, after being apprehended for Christ's Name, and apostatizing,[1] ceased not to blaspheme against Christ. For he introduced a doctrine by which to affirm that Christ was merely a human being, but deny His deity; teaching that He was born of the Holy Spirit indeed of a virgin, but was a solitary and bare human being,[2] with no pre-eminence above the rest [of mankind], but only that of righteousness.

After him brake out a second heretical THEODOTUS, who again himself introduced a sister-sect, and says that the human being Christ Himself [3] was merely conceived alike, and born, of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, but that He was inferior to Melchizedek; because it is said of Christ, "Thou art a priest unto eternity, after the order of Melchizedek."[4] For that Melchizedek, he says, was a heavenly Virtue of pre-eminent grace; in that Christ acts for human beings, being made their Deprecator and Advocate: Melchizedek does so[5] for heavenly angels and Virtues. For to such a degree, he says, is he better than Christ, that he is

[1] Negavit. See *de Idol.* c. xxiii. note 1.

[2] Hominem solitarium atque nudum. The words seem to mean, destitute of anything *super*human.

[3] Et ips*um* hominem Christum tantummodo. I rather incline to read, as in the preceding sentence, "et ips*e*:" "and himself affirms Christ to have been merely human, conceived alike," etc.

[4] See Ps. cx. 4, and the references there.

[5] The Latin here is very careless, unless, with Routh, we suggest "et" for "eo," and render: "and that what Christ does," etc., "Melchizedek does," etc.

ἀπάτωρ (fatherless), ἀμήτωρ (motherless), ἀγενεαλογητος (without genealogy), of whom neither the beginning nor the end has been comprehended, nor can be comprehended.[1]

But after all these, again, one PRAXEAS introduced a heresy which VICTORINUS[2] was careful to corroborate. He asserts that Jesus Christ is God the Father Almighty. Him he contends to have been crucified, and suffered, and died; beside which, with a profane and sacrilegious temerity, he maintains the proposition that He is Himself sitting at His own right hand.[3]

[1] See Heb. vii. 1–3.

[2] Who he is, no one knows. Oehler (following the lead of Fabricius on Philaster, cap. 49, p. 102) believes the name to be a mistake for Victor, a bishop of Rome, who (see *adv. Prax.* c. i.) had held the episcopate when Praxeas was there. His successor was Zephyrinus; and it is an ingenious conjecture of Oehler, that these two names, the one written as a correction of the other, may have been confused: thus, Victor / Zephyrinus; and thus of the two may have been made Victorinus.

[3] The form and order of the words here used are certainly remarkably similar to the expressions and order of the "Apostles' Creed."

A FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE EXECRABLE GODS OF THE HEATHEN.

. . . . . .

SO great blindness has fallen on the Roman race, that they call their enemy Lord, and preach the filcher of blessings as being their very giver, and to him they give thanks. They call those [deities], then, by human names, not by their own, for their own names they know not. That they are dæmons[1] they understand: but they read histories of the old kings, and then, though they see that their character[2] was mortal, they honour them with a deific name.

As for him whom they call Jupiter, and think to be the highest god, when he was born the years [that had elapsed] from the foundation of the world[3] to him[4] were some three thousand. He is born in Greece, from Saturnus and Ops; and, for fear he should be killed by his father (or else, if it is lawful to say so, should be begotten[5] anew), is by the advice of his mother carried down into Crete, and reared in a cave of Ida; is concealed [from his father's search] by [the aid of] Cretans—born men![6]—rattling their arms; sucks a she-

[1] Dæmons, Gr. δαίμων, which some hold to = δαήμων, "knowing," "skilful," in which case it would come to be used of any superhuman intelligence; others, again, derive from δαίω, "to divide, distribute," in which case it would mean a distributor of destinies; which latter derivation and meaning Liddell and Scott incline to.

[2] Actum: or "career." [3] Mundi. [4] *i.e.* till his time.

[5] Pareretur. As the word seems to be used here with reference to his father, this, although not by any means a usual meaning, would seem to be the sense.

[6] A Cretibus, hominibus natis. The force seems to be in the absurdity of supposing that, 1*st*, there should be human beings (hominibus) *born*, (as Jupiter is said to have been "born,") already existing at the time of

goat's dugs; flays her; clothes himself in her hide; and [thus] uses his own nurse's hide, after killing her, to be sure, with his own hand! but he sewed thereon three golden tassels worth the price of an hundred oxen each, as their author Homer[1] relates, if it is fair to believe it. This Jupiter, in adult age, waged war several years with his father; overcame him; made a parricidal raid on his home; violated his virgin sisters;[2] selected one of them in marriage; drave[3] his father by dint of arms. The remaining scenes, moreover, of that act have been recorded. Of other folk's wives, or else of violated virgins, he begat him sons; defiled freeborn boys; oppressed peoples lawlessly with despotic and kingly sway. The father, whom they erringly suppose to have been the *original* god, was ignorant that this [son of his] was being concealed in Crete; the son, again, whom they believe the *mightier* god, knows not that the father whom himself had banished is lurking in Italy. If he was in heaven, when would he not see what was doing in Italy? For the Italian land is "not in a corner."[4] And yet, had he been a god, nothing *ought* to have escaped him. But that he whom the Italians call Saturnus did lurk there, is clearly evidenced on the face of it, from the fact that from his lurking[5] the Hesperian[6] tongue is to this day called Latin,[7] as likewise their author Virgil relates.[8] [Jupiter], then, is said to have been born on earth, while [Saturnus his father] fears lest he be driven by him from his kingdom, and seeks to kill him as being his own rival, and knows not that he has been stealthily carried off, and is in hiding; and afterwards

the "birth" of "the highest god;" 2*dly*, that these should have had the power to do him so essential service as to conceal him from the search of his own father, likewise a mighty deity, by the simple expedient of rattling their arms.

[1] See Hom. *Il.* ii. 446–9; but Homer says there were 100 such tassels.

[2] Oehler's "virgin*is*" must mean "virgin*es*."

[3] So Scott: "He *drave* my cows last Fastern's night."—*Lay of Last Minstrel.*

[4] See Acts xxvi. 26.

[5] Latitatio.

[6] *i.e.* Western: here = Italian, as being west of Greece.

[7] Latina.

[8] See Virg. *Æn.* viii. 319–323; see also Ov. *Fast.* i. 234–238.

the son-god pursues his father, immortal seeks to slay immortal (is it credible?[1]), and is disappointed by an interval of sea, and is ignorant of [his quarry's] flight; and while all this is going on between two gods on earth, heaven is deserted. No one dispensed the rains, no one thundered, no one governed all this mass of world.[2] For they cannot even say that their action and wars took place in heaven; for all this was going on on Mount Olympus in Greece. Well, but heaven is not called Olympus, for heaven is heaven.

These, then, are the actions of theirs which we will treat of first — nativity, lurking, ignorance, parricide, adulteries, obscenities—things committed not by a god, but by most impure and truculent human beings; beings who, had they been living in these days, would have lain under the impeachment of all laws—laws which are far more just and strict than *their* actions. "He drave his father by dint of arms." The Falcidian and Sempronian law would bind the parricide in a sack with beasts. "He violated his sisters." The Papinian law would punish the outrage with all penalties, limb by limb. "He invaded others' wedlock." The Julian law would visit its adulterous violator capitally. "He defiled freeborn boys." The Cornelian law would condemn the crime of transgressing the sexual bond with novel severities, sacrilegiously guilty as it is of a novel union.[3] This being is shown to have had no divinity either, for he was a human being; his father's flight escaped him. To this human being, of such a character,

[1] Oehler does not mark this as a question. If we follow him, we may render, "this can find belief." Above, it seemed necessary to introduce the bracketed words to make some sense. The Latin is throughout very clumsy and incoherent.

[2] Orbis.

[3] Lex Cornelia transgressi fœderis ammissum novis exemplis novi coitus sacrilegum damnaret. After consulting Dr. Holmes, I have rendered, but not without hesitation, as above. "Fœdus" seems to have been technically used, especially in later Latin, of the *marriage compact;* but what "lex Cornelia" is meant I have sought vainly to discover, and whether "lex Cornelia transgressi fœderis" ought not to go together I am not sure. For "*am*missum" (= admissum) Migne's ed. reads, "*a*missum," a very different word. For "sacrilegus" with a genitive, see *de Res. Carn.* c. xlii. *med.*

to so wicked a king, so obscene and so cruel, God's honour has been assigned by men. Now, to be sure, if *on earth* he were born and grew up through the advancing stages of life's periods, and in it committed all these evils, and yet is no more in it, what is thought[1] [of him] but that he is dead? Or else does foolish error think wings were born him in his old age, whence to fly heavenward? Why, even *this* may possibly find credit among men bereft of sense,[2] if indeed they believe, [as they do,] that he turned into a swan, to beget the Castors;[3] an eagle, to contaminate Ganymede; a bull, to violate Europa; gold, to violate Danaë; a horse, to beget Pirithoüs; a goat, to beget Egyppa[4] from a she-goat; a Satyr, to embrace Antiope. Beholding these adulteries, to which sinners are prone, they therefore easily believe that sanctions of misdeed and of every filthiness are borrowed from their feigned god. Do they perceive how void of amendment are the rest of his career's acts which can find credit, which are indeed true, and which, they say, he did without self-transformation? Of Semele he begets Liber;[5] of Latona, Apollo and Diana; of Maia, Mercury; of Alcmena, Hercules. But the rest of his corruptions, which they themselves confess, I am unwilling to record, lest turpitude, once buried, be again recalled to men's ears. But of these few [offsprings of his] I have made mention; offsprings whom in their error they believe to be themselves, too, gods—born, to wit, of an incestuous father; adulterous births, supposititious births. And the living,[6] eternal God, of sempiternal divinity, prescient of futurity, immeasurable,[7] they have dissipated [into nothing, by associating Him] with crimes so unspeakable.

[1] Quid putat*ur* (Oehler); putat*us* (Migne).

[2] Or, "feeling"—"sensu."

[3] The Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

[4] Perhaps Ægipana (marginal reading of the MS. as given in Oehler and Migne).

[5] *i.e.* Bacchus.

[6] Oehler reads "vi*d*entem;" but Migne's "vi*v*entem" seems better: indeed, Oehler's is probably a misprint. The punctuation of this treatise in Oehler is very faulty throughout, and has been disregarded.

[7] "Immensum," rendered "incomprehensible" in the "Athanasian Creed."

A STRAIN OF JONAH THE PROPHET.

AFTER the living, aye-enduring death
Of Sodom and Gomorrha; after fires
Penal, attested by time-frosted plains
Of ashes; after fruitless apple-growths,
5 Born but to feed the eye; after the death
Of sea and brine, both in like fate involved;
While whatsoe'er is human still retains
In change corporeal its penal badge:[1]
A city—Nineveh—by stepping o'er
10 The path of justice and of equity,
On her own head had well-nigh shaken down
More fires of rain supernal. For what dread[2]
Dwells in a mind subverted? Commonly
Tokens of penal visitations prove
15 All vain where error holds possession. Still,
Kindly and patient of our waywardness,
And slow to punish, the Almighty Lord
Will launch no shaft of wrath, unless He first
Admonish and knock oft at hardened hearts,
20 Rousing with mind august presaging seers.
For to the merits of the Ninevites
The Lord had bidden Jonah to foretell
Destruction; but he, conscious that He spares
The subject, and remits to suppliants
25 The dues of penalty, and is to good

[1] These two lines, if this be their true sense, seem to refer to Lot's wife. But the grammar and meaning of this introduction are alike obscure.

[2] "Metus;" used, as in other places, of *godly* fear.

Ever inclinable, was loth to face
That errand; lest he sing his seerly strain
In vain, and peaceful issue of his threats
Ensue. His counsel presently is flight:
30 (If, howsoe'er, there is at all the power
God to avoid, and shun the Lord's right hand,
'Neath whom the whole orb trembles and is held
In check: but is there reason in the act
Which in[1] his saintly heart the prophet dares?)
35 On the beach-lip, over against the shores
Of the Cilicians, is a city poised,[2]
Far-famed for trusty port—Joppa her name.
Thence therefore Jonah speeding in a barque
Seeks Tarsus,[3] through the signal providence
40 Of the same God;[4] nor marvel is't, I ween,
If, fleeing from the Lord upon the lands,
He found Him in the waves. For suddenly
A little cloud had stained the lower air
With fleecy wrack sulphureous, itself[5]
45 By the wind's seed excited: by degrees,
Bearing a brood globose, it with the sun
Cohered, and with a train caliginous
Shut in the cheated day. The main becomes
The mirror of the sky; the waves are dyed
50 With black encirclement; the upper air
Down rushes into darkness, and the sea
Uprises; nought of middle space is left;
While the clouds touch the waves, and the waves all
Are mingled by the bluster of the winds
55 In whirling eddy. 'Gainst the renegade,
'Gainst Jonah, diverse frenzy joined to rave,

[1] Lit. "from," *i.e.* which, *urged by* a heart which is that of a saint, even though on this occasion it failed, the prophet dared.

[2] Libratur.

[3] "Tarshish," Eng. ver.; perhaps Tartessus in Spain. For this question, and the "trustiness" of Joppa (now Jaffa) as a port, see Pusey on Jonah i. 3.

[4] Ejusdem per signa Dei.

[5] *i.e.* the cloud.

While one sole barque did all the struggle breed
'Twixt sky and surge. From this side and from that
Pounded she reels; 'neath each wave-breaking blow
60 The forest of her tackling trembles all;
As, underneath, her spinal length of keel,
Staggered by shock on shock, all palpitates;
And, from on high, her labouring mass of yard
Creaks shuddering; and the tree-like mast itself
65 Bends to the gale, misdoubting to be riven.
Meantime the rising[1] clamour of the crew
Tries every chance for barque's and dear life's sake:
To pass from hand to hand[2] the tardy coils
To tighten the girth's noose: straitly to bind
70 The tiller's struggles; or, with breast opposed,
T' impel reluctant curves. Part, turn by turn,
With foremost haste outbale the reeking well
Of inward sea. The wares and cargo all
They then cast headlong, and with losses seek
75 Their perils to subdue. At every crash
Of the wild deep rise piteous cries; and out
They stretch their hands to majesties of gods,
Which gods are none; whom might of sea and sky
Fears not, nor yet the less from off their poops
80 With angry eddy sweeping sinks them down.
Unconscious of all this, the guilty one
'Neath the poop's hollow arch was making sleep
Re-echo stertorous with nostril wide
Inflated: whom, so soon as he who guides
85 The functions of the wave-dividing prow
Saw him sleep-bound in placid peace, and proud
In his repose, he, standing o'er him, shook,

[1] Ge*nit*us (Oehler); ge*min*us (Migne) = "twin clamour," which is not inapt.

[2] M*a*ndare (Oehler). If this be the true reading, the rendering in the text seems to represent the meaning; for "mandare" with *an accusative*, in the sense of "to *bid* the tardy coils tighten the girth's noose," seems almost too gross a solecism for even so lax a Latinist as our present writer. Migne, however, reads m*u*ndare = "*to clear* the tardy coils," *i.e.* probably from the wash and weed with which the gale was cloying them.

And said, "Why sing'st, with vocal nostril, dreams,
In such a crisis? In so wild a whirl,
90 Why keep'st thou only harbour? Lo! the wave
Whelms us, and our one hope is in the gods.
Thou also, whosoever is thy god,
Make vows, and, pouring prayers on bended knee,
Win o'er thy country's Sovran!"
Then they vote
95 To learn by lot who is the culprit, who
The cause of storm; nor does the lot belie
Jonah: whom then they ask, and ask again,
"Who? whence? who in the world? from what abode,
What people, hail'st thou?" He avows himself
100 A servant, and an over-timid one,
Of God, who raised aloft the sky, who based
The earth, who corporally fused the whole:
A renegade from Him he owns himself,
And tells the reason. Rigid turned they all
105 With dread. "What grudge, then, ow'st thou *us*?
What now
Will follow? By what deed shall we appease
The main?" For more and far more swelling grew
The savage surges. Then the seer begins
Words prompted by the Spirit of the Lord:[1]
110 "Lo! I your tempest am; I am the sum
Of the world's[2] madness: 'tis in me," he says,
"That the sea rises, and the upper air
Down rushes; land in me is far, death near,

[1] Tunc Domini vates ingesta Spiritus infit. Of course it is a gross offence against quantity to make a genitive in "us" short, as the rendering in the text does. But a writer who makes the first syllable in "clamor" and the last syllable of gerunds in *do* short, would scarcely be likely to hesitate about taking similar liberties with a genitive of the so-called fourth declension. It is possible, it is true, to take "vates" and "Spiritus" as in apposition, and render, "Then the seer-Spirit of the Lord begins to utter words inspired," or, "Then the seer-Spirit begins to utter the promptings of the Lord." But these renderings seem to accord less well with the ensuing words.

[2] Mundi.

And hope in God is none! Come, headlong hurl
115 Your cause of bane: lighten your ship, and cast
This single mighty burden to the main,
A willing prey!" But they—all vainly!—strive
Homeward to turn their course; for helm refused
To suffer turning, and the yard's stiff poise
120 Willed not to change. At last unto the Lord
They cry: "For one soul's sake give us not o'er
Unto death's maw, nor let us be besprent
With righteous blood, if thus Thine own right hand
Leadeth." And from the eddy's depth a whale
125 Outrising on the spot, scaly with shells,[1]
Unravelling his body's train, 'gan urge
More near the waves, shocking the gleaming brine,
Seizing—at God's command—the prey; which, rolled
From the poop's summit prone, with slimy jaws
130 He sucked; and into his long belly sped
The living feast; and swallowed, with the man,
The rage of sky and main. The billowy waste
Grows level, and the ether's gloom dissolves;
The waves on this side, and the blasts on that,
135 Are to their friendly mood restored; and, where
The placid keel marks out a path secure,
White traces in the emerald furrow bloom.
The sailor then does to the reverend Lord
Of death make grateful offering of his fear;[2]
140 Then enters friendly ports.
Jonah the seer
The while is voyaging, in other craft
Embarked, and cleaving 'neath the lowest waves

[1] *i.e.* apparently with shells which had gathered about him as he lay in the deep.

[2] This seems to be the sense of Oehler's "Nauta at tum Domino leti venerando timorem Sacrificat grates"—"grates" being in apposition with "timorem." But Migne reads: "Nautæ tum Domino læti venerando timorem Sacrificant grates:"

"The sailors then do to the reverend Lord
Gladly make grateful sacrifice of fear:"

and I do not see that Oehler's reading is much better.

A wave: his sails the intestines of the fish,
Inspired with breath ferine; himself, shut in
145 By waters, yet untouched; in the sea's heart,
And yet beyond its reach; 'mid wrecks of fleets
Half-eaten, and men's carcasses dissolved
In putrid disintegrity: in life
Learning the process of his death; but still—
150 To be a sign hereafter of the Lord[1]—
A witness was he [in his very self],[2]
Not of destruction, but of death's repulse.

[1] Comp. Matt. xii. 38-41; Luke xi. 29, 30.

[2] These words are not in the original, but are inserted (I confess) to fill up the line, and avoid ending with an incomplete verse. If, however, any one is curious enough to compare the translation, with all its defects, with the Latin, he may be somewhat surprised to find how very little alteration or adaptation is necessary in turning verse into verse.

A STRAIN OF SODOM.

(AUTHOR UNCERTAIN.)

ALREADY had Almighty God wiped off
By vengeful flood (with waters all conjoined
Which heaven discharged on earth and the sea's plain[1]
Outspued) the times of the primeval age:
5 Had pledged Himself, while nether air should bring
The winters in their course, ne'er to decree,
By *liquid* ruin, retribution's due;
And had assigned, to curb the rains, the bow
Of many hues, sealing the clouds with band
10 Of purple and of green, Iris its name,
The rain-clouds' proper baldric.[2]
But alike
With mankind's second race impiety
Revives, and a new age of ill once more
Shoots forth; allotted now no more to *showers*
15 For ruin, but to *fires:* thus did the land
Of SODOM earn to be by glowing dews
Upburnt, and typically thus portend
The future end.[3] There wild voluptuousness
(Modesty's foe) stood in the room of law;
20 Which prescient guest would shun, and sooner choose
At Scythian or Busirian altar's foot
'Mid sacred rites to die, and, slaughtered, pour
His blood to Bebryx, or to satiate

[1] Maris æquor.
[2] See Gen. ix. 21, 22, x. 8–17.
[3] Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 5–14.

Libyan palæstras, or assume new forms
25 By virtue of Circæan cups, than lose
His outraged sex in Sodom.
At heaven's gate
There knocked for vengeance marriages commixt
With equal incest common 'mong a race
By nature rebels 'gainst themselves;[1] and hurts
30 Done to man's name and person equally.
But God, forewatching all things, at fix'd time
Doth judge the unjust; with patience tarrying
The hour when crime's ripe age—not any force
Of wrath impetuous—shall have circumscribed
35 The space for waiting.[2]
Now at length the day
Of vengeance was at hand. Sent from the host
Angelical, two, youths in form, who both
Were ministering spirits,[3] carrying
The Lord's divine commissions, come beneath
40 The walls of Sodom. There was dwelling Lot,
A transplantation from a pious stock;
Wise, and a practiser of righteousness,
He was the only one to think on God:
As oft a fruitful tree is wont to lurk,
45 Guest-like, in forests wild. He, sitting then
Before the gate (for the celestials scarce

[1] The expression, "sinners against their own souls," in Num. xvi. 38—where, however, the LXX. have a very different version—may be compared with this; as likewise Prov. viii. 36.

[2] Whether the above be the sense of this most obscure triplet I will not presume to determine. It is at least (I hope) *intelligible* sense. But that the reader may judge for himself whether he can offer any better, I subjoin the lines, which form a sentence alone, and therefore can be judged of without their context:

"Tempore sed certo Deus omnia prospeculatus,
Judicat injustos, patiens ubi criminis ætas
Cessandi spatium vis nulla coëgerit iræ."

[3] Comp. Heb. i. 14. It may be as well here to inform the reader once for all that prosody as well as syntax is repeatedly set at defiance in these metrical fragments; and hence, of course, arise some of the chief difficulties in dealing with them.

Had reached the ramparts), though he knew not them
Divine,[1] accosts them unsolicited,
Invites, and with ancestral honour greets;
50 And offers them, preparing to abide
Abroad, a hospice. By repeated prayers
He wins them; and then ranges studiously
The sacred pledges[2] on his board,[3] and quits[4]
His friends with courteous offices. The night
55 Had brought repose: alternate[5] dawn had chased
The night, and Sodom with her shameful law
Makes uproar at the doors. Lot, suppliant-wise,
Withstands: "Young men, let not your new-fed lust
Enkindle you to violate this youth![6]
60 Whither is passion's seed inviting you?
To what vain end your lust? For such an end
No creatures wed: not such as haunt the fens;
Not stall-fed cattle; not the gaping brood
Subaqueous; nor they which, modulant
65 On pinions, hang suspended near the clouds;
Nor they which with forth-stretchèd body creep
Over earth's face. To conjugal delight
Each kind its kind doth owe: but female still
To all is wife; nor is there one that has
70 A mother save a female one. Yet now,

[1] "Divinos;" *i.e.* apparently "superhuman," as everything *heavenly* is.

[2] Of hospitality—bread and salt, etc.

[3] "Mens*a*;" but perhaps "mensæ" may be suggested—"the sacred pledges *of the board*."

[4] "Dispungit," which is the only verb in the sentence, and refers both to *pia pignora* and to *amicos*. I use "quit" in the sense in which we speak of "quitting a debtor," *i.e.* giving him his full due; but the two lines are very hard, and present (as in the case of those before quoted) a jumble of words without grammar: "pia pignora mensa Officiisque probis studio dispungit amicos;" which may be somewhat more literally rendered than in our text, thus: "he zealously discharges" (*i.e.* fulfils) "his sacred pledges" (*i.e.* the promised hospitality which he had offered them) "with [a generous] board, and discharges" (*i.e.* fulfils his obligations to) "his friends with honourable courtesies."

[5] Altera = alterna. But the statement differs from Gen. xix. 4.

[6] "Istam juventam," *i.e.* the two "juvenes" (ver. 31) within.

If youthful vigour holds it right[1] to waste
The flower of modesty, I have within
Two daughters of a nuptial age, in whom
Virginity is swelling in its bloom,
75 Already ripe for harvest—a desire
Worthy of men—which let your pleasure reap!
Myself their sire, I yield them; and will pay,
For my guests' sake, the forfeit of my grief!"
Answered the mob insane: "And who art thou?
80 And what? and whence? to lord it over us,
And to expound us laws? Shall foreigner
Rule Sodom, and hurl threats? Now, then, thyself
For daughters and for guests shalt sate our greed!
One shall suffice for all!" So said, so done:
85 The frantic mob delays not. As, whene'er
A turbid torrent rolls with wintry tide,
And rushes at one speed though countless streams
Of rivers, if, just where it forks, some tree
Meets the swift waves (not long to stand, save while
90 By her root's force she shall avail to oppose
Her tufty obstacles), when gradually
Her hold upon the underminèd soil
Is failing, with her barèd stem she hangs,
And, with uncertain heavings to and fro,
95 Defers her certain fall; not otherwise
Lot in the mid-whirl of the dizzy mob
Kept nodding, now almost o'ercome. But power
Divine brings succour: the angelic youths,
Snatching him from the threshold, to his roof
100 Restore him; but upon the spot they mulct
Of sight the mob insane in open day,—
Fit augury of coming penalties!
Then they unlock the just decrees of God:
That penalty condign from heaven will fall
105 On Sodom; that himself had merited
Safety upon the count of righteousness.
"Gird thee, then, up to hasten hence thy flight,

[1] "Fas" = ὅσιον, *morally* right; distinct from "jus" or "licitum.

And with thee to lead out what family
Thou hast: already we are bringing on
110 Destruction o'er the city." Lot with speed
Speaks to his sons-in-law; but their hard heart
Scorned to believe the warning, and at fear
Laughed. At what time the light attempts to climb
The darkness, and heaven's face wears double hue
115 From night and day, the youthful visitants
Were instant to outlead from Sodoma
The race Chaldean,[1] and the righteous house
Consign to safety: "Ho! come, Lot! arise,
And take thy yokefellow and daughters twain,
120 And hence, beyond the boundaries be gone,
Preventing[2] Sodom's penalties!" And eke
With friendly hands they lead them trembling forth,
And then their final mandates give: "Save, Lot,
Thy life, lest thou perchance should will to turn
125 Thy retroverted gaze behind, or stay
The step once taken: to the mountain speed!"
Lot feared to creep the heights with tardy step,
Lest the celestial wrath-fires should o'ertake
And whelm him: therefore he essays to crave
130 Some other ports; a city small, to wit,
Which opposite he had espied. "Hereto,"
He said, "I speed my flight: scarce with its walls
'Tis visible; nor is it far, nor great."
They, favouring his prayer, safety assured
135 To him and to the city; whence the spot
Is known in speech barbaric by the name
Segor.[3] Lot enters Segor while the sun
Is rising,[4] the last sun, which glowing bears

[1] *i.e.* Lot's race or family, which had come from "Ur of the Chaldees." See Gen. xi. 26, 27, 28.

[2] I use "preventing" in its now unusual sense of "anticipating the arrival of."

[3] Σηγώρ in the LXX., "Zoar" in Eng. ver.

[4] "*Simul exoritur* sol." But both the LXX. and the Eng. ver. say the sun *was risen* when Lot entered the city.

To Sodom conflagration; for his rays
140 He had armed all with fire: beneath him spreads
An emulous gloom, which seeks to intercept
The light; and clouds combine to interweave
Their smoky globes with the confusèd sky:
Down pours a novel shower: the ether seethes
145 With sulphur mixt with blazing flames:[1] the air
Crackles with liquid heats exust. From hence
The fable has an echo of the truth
Amid its false, that the sun's progeny
Would drive his father's team; but nought availed
150 The giddy boy to curb the haughty steeds
Of fire: so blazed our orb: then lightning reft
The lawless charioteer, and bitter plaint
Transformed his sisters. Let Eridanus
See to it, if one poplar on his banks
155 Whitens, or any bird dons plumage there
Whose note old age makes mellow![2]
Here they mourn
O'er miracles of metamorphosis
Of other sort. For, partner of Lot's flight,
His wife (ah me, for woman! even then[3]
160 Intolerant of law!) alone turned back
(At the unearthly murmurs of the sky)
Her daring eyes, but bootlessly: not doomed

[1] So Oehler and Migne. But perhaps we may alter the pointing slightly, and read:

"Down pours a novel shower, sulphur mixt
With blazing flames: the ether seethes: the air
Crackles with liquid heats exust."

[2] The story of Phaëthon and his fate is told in Ov. *Met.* ii. 1–399, which may be compared with the present piece. His two sisters were transformed into white poplars, according to some; alders, according to others. See Virg. *Æn.* x. 190 sqq., *Ec.* vi. 62 sqq. His half-brother (Cycnus or Cygnus) was turned into a swan: and the scene of these transformations is laid by Ovid on the banks of the Eridanus (the Po). But the fable is variously told; and it has been suggested that the groundwork of it is to be found rather in the still-standing of the sun recorded in Joshua.

[3] *i.e.* as she had been before in the case of Eve. See Gen. iii. 1 sqq.

To utter what she saw! and then and there
Changed into brittle salt, herself her tomb
165 She stood, herself an image of herself,
Keeping an incorporeal form: and still
In her unsheltered station 'neath the heaven
Dures she, by rains unmelted, by decay
And winds unwasted; nay, if some strange hand
170 Deface her form, forthwith from her own store
Her wounds she doth repair. Still is she said
To live, and, 'mid her corporal change, discharge
With wonted blood her sex's monthly dues.

Gone are the men of Sodom; gone the glare
175 Of their unhallowed ramparts; all the house
Inhospitable, with its lords, is gone:
The champaign is one pyre; here embers rough
And black, here ash-heaps with hoar mould, mark out
The conflagration's course: evanishèd
180 Is all that old fertility[1] which Lot,
Seeing outspread before him, . . .

[1] I have hazarded the bold conjecture—which I see others (Pamelius at all events) had hazarded before me—that "feritas" is used by our author as = "fertilitas." The word, of course, is very incorrectly formed etymologically; but etymology is not our author's *forte* apparently. It will also be seen that there is seemingly a gap at this point, or else some enormous mistake, in the MSS. An attempt has been made (see Migne) to correct it, but not a very satisfactory one. For the common reading, which gives two lines,

"Occidit illa prior feritas, quam prospiciens Loth,
Nullus arat frustra piceas fuligine glebas,"

which are evidently entirely unconnected with one another, it is proposed to read,

"Occidit illa prior feritas, quam prospiciens Loth,
Deseruisse pii fertur commercia fratris.
Nullus arat," etc.

This use of "fratris" in a wide sense may be justified from Gen. xiii. 8 (to which passage, with its immediate context, there seems to be a reference, whether we adopt the proposed correction or no), and similar passages in Holy Writ. But the transition is still abrupt to the "nullus arat," etc.; and I prefer to leave the passage as it is, without attempting to supply the hiatus.

. . . . .

No ploughman spends his fruitless toil on glebes
Pitchy with soot: or if some acres there,
But half consumed, still strive to emulate
185 Autumn's glad wealth, pears, peaches, and all fruits
Promise themselves full easely[1] to the eye
In fairest bloom, until the plucker's hand
Is on them: then forthwith the seeming fruit
Crumbles to dust 'neath the bewraying touch,
190 And turns to embers vain.
Thus, therefore (sky
And earth entombed alike), not e'en the sea
Lives there: the quiet of that quiet sea
Is death![2]—a sea which no wave animates
Through its anhelant volumes; which beneath
195 Its native Auster sighs not anywhere;
Which cannot from its depths one scaly race,
Or with smooth skin or cork-like fence encased,
Produce, or curlèd shell in single valve
Or double fold enclosed. Bitumen there
200 (The sooty reek of sea exust) alone,
With its own crop, a spurious harvest yields;
Which 'neath the stagnant surface vivid heat
From seething mass of sulphur and of brine
Maturing tempers, making earth cohere
205 Into a pitch marine.[3] At season due
The heated water's fatty ooze is borne
Up to the surface; and with foamy flakes
Over the level top a tawny skin
Is woven. They whose function is to catch
210 That ware put to, tilting their smooth skiffs down
With balance of their sides, to teach the film,

[1] This use of "easely" as a dissyllable is justifiable from Spenser.

[2] This seems to be the sense, but the Latin is somewhat strange: "mors est maris illa quieti," *i.e.* illa [quies] maris quieti mors est. The opening lines of "Jonah" (above) should be compared with this passage and its context.

[3] Inque picem dat terræ hærere marinam.

Once o'er the gunnel, to float in: for, lo!
Raising itself spontaneous, it will swim
Up to the edge of the unmoving craft;
215 And will, when pressed,[1] for guerdon large, ensure
Immunity from the defiling touch
Of weft which female monthly efflux clothes.
Behold another portent notable,
Fruit of that sea's disaster: all things cast
220 Therein do swim: gone is its native power
For sinking bodies: if, in fine, you launch
A torch's lightsome[2] hull (where spirit serves
For fire) therein, the apex of the flame
Will act as sail; put out the flame, and 'neath
225 The waters will the light's wreckt ruin go!

Such Sodom's and Gomorrha's penalties,
For ages sealed as signs before the eyes
Of unjust nations, whose obdurate hearts
God's fear have quite forsaken,[3] will them teach
230 To reverence heaven-sanctioned rights,[4] and lift
Their gaze unto one only Lord of all.

[1] "Pressum" (Oehler); "pretium" (Migne): "it will yield a prize, namely, that," etc.

[2] Luciferam.

[3] Oehler's pointing is disregarded.

[4] "De cælo jura tueri;" possibly "to look for laws from heaven."

GENESIS.

(AUTHORSHIP UNCERTAIN.)

IN the beginning did the Lord create
The heaven and earth:[1] for formless was the land,[2]
And hidden by the wave, and God immense[3]
O'er the vast watery plains was hovering,
5 While chaos and black darkness shrouded all:
Which darkness, when God bade be from the pole[4]
Disjoined, He speaks, "Let there be light;" and all
In the clear world[5] was bright! Then, when the Lord
The first day's works had finishèd, He formed
10 Heaven's axis white with nascent clouds: the deep
Immense receives its wandering[6] shores, and draws
The rivers manifold with mighty trains.
The third dun light unveiled earth's[7] face, and soon
(Its name assigned[8]) the dry land's story 'gins:
15 Together on the windy champaigns rise
The flowery seeds, and simultaneously
Fruit-bearing boughs put forth procurvant arms.
The fourth day, with[9] the sun's lamp generates

[1] Terram. [2] Tellus.

[3] Immensus. See note on the word in the fragment "Concerning the Cursing of the Heathen's Gods."

[4] Cardine. [5] Mundo.

[6] "Errantia;" so called, probably, either because they appear to move as ships pass them, or because they may be said to "wander" by reason of the constant change which they undergo from the action of the sea, and because of the shifting nature of their sands.

[7] Terrarum. [8] "God called the dry land Earth:" Gen. i. 10.

[9] *i. e.* "together with:" it begets both sun and moon.

The moon, and moulds the stars with tremulous light
20 Radiant: these elements it[1] gave as signs
To th' underlying world,[2] to teach the times
Which, through their rise and setting, were to change.
Then, on the fifth, the liquid[3] streams receive
Their fish, and birds poise in the lower air
25 Their pinions many-hued. The sixth, again,
Supples the ice-cold snakes into their coils,
And over the whole fields diffuses herds
Of quadrupeds; and mandate gave that all
Should grow with multiplying seed, and roam
30 And feed in earth's immensity.
All these
When power divine by mere command arranged,
Observing that things mundane still would lack
A ruler, thus It[4] speaks: "With utmost care,
Assimilated to our own aspèct,[5]
35 Make we a man to reign in the whole orb."
And him, although He with a single word[6]
Could have compounded, yet Himself did deign
To shape him with His sacred own right hand,
Inspiring his dull breast from breast divine.
40 Whom when He saw formed in a likeness such
As is His own, He measures how he broods
Alone on gnawing cares. Straightway his eyes
With sleep irriguous He doth perfuse;
That from his reft rib woman softlier
45 May formèd be, and that by mixture twin
His substance may add firmness to her limbs.
To her the name of "Life"—which is called "Eve"[7]—
Is given: wherefore sons, as custom is,
Their parents leave, and, with a settled home,
50 Cleave to their wives.

[1] *i.e.* "the fourth day."
[2] Mundo.
[3] Or, "lucid"—liquentia.
[4] *i.e.* "Power Divine."
[5] So Milton and Shakspere.
[6] As (see above, l. 31) He had all other things.
[7] See Gen. iii. 20, with the LXX., and the marg. in the Eng. ver.

The seventh came, when God
At His works' end did rest, decreeing it
Sacred unto the coming ages' joys.
Straightway—the crowds of living things deployed
Before him—Adam's cunning skill (the gift
55 Of the good Lord) gives severally to all
The name which still is permanent. Himself,
And, joined with him, his Eve, God deigns address
"Grow, for the times to come, with manifold
Increase, that with your seed the pole and earth[1]
60 Be filled; and, as Mine heirs, the varied fruits
Pluck ye, which groves and champaigns render you,
From their rich turf." Thus after He discoursed,
In gladsome court[2] a paradise is strewn,
And looks towards the rays of th' early sun.[3]
65 These joys among, a tree with deadly fruits,
Breeding, conjoined, the taste of life and death,
Arises. In the midst of the demesne[4]
Flows with pure tide a stream, which irrigates
Fair offsprings from its liquid waves, and cuts
70 Quadrifid paths from out its bubbling fount.
Here wealthy Phison, with auriferous waves,
Swells, and with hoarse tide wears[5] conspicuous gems,
This prasinus,[6] that glowing carbuncle,[7]
By name; and laves, transparent in its shoals,
75 The margin of the land of Havilath.
Next Gihon, gliding by the Æthiops,
Enriches them. The Tigris is the third,
Adjoined to fair Euphrates, furrowing
Disjunctively with rapid flood the land

[1] Terræ.

[2] The "gladsome court"—"læta aula"—seems to mean *Eden*, *in* which the garden is said to have been planted. See Gen. ii. 8.

[3] *i.e.* eastward. See the last reference.

[4] Ædibus in mediis.

[5] Terit. So Job (xiv. 19), "The waters *wear* the stones."

[6] "Onyx," Eng. ver. See the following piece, l. 277.

[7] "Bdellium," Eng. ver.; ἄνθραξ, LXX.

80 Of Asshur. Adam, with his faithful wife,
Placed here as guard and workman, is informed
By such the Thunderer's[1] speech: "Tremble ye not
To pluck together the permitted fruits
Which, with its leafy bough, the unshorn grove
85 Hath furnished; anxious only lest perchance
Ye cull the hurtful apple,[2] which is green
With a twin juice for functions several."
And, no less blind meantime than Night herself,
Deep night 'gan hold them, nor had e'en a robe
90 Covered their new-formed limbs.
Amid these haunts,
And on mild berries reared, a foamy snake,
Surpassing living things in sense astute,
Was creeping silently with chilly coils.
He, brooding over envious lies instinct
95 With gnawing sense, tempts the soft heart beneath
The woman's breast: "Tell me, why shouldst thou dread
The apple's[3] happy seeds? Why, hath not God
All known fruits hallowed?[4] Whence if thou be prompt
To cull the honeyed fruits, the golden world[5]
100 Will on its starry pole return."[6] But she
Refuses, and the boughs forbidden fears
To touch. But yet her breast 'gins be o'ercome
With sense infirm. Straightway, as she at length
With snowy tooth the dainty morsels bit,
105 Stained with no cloud the sky serene up-lit!
Then taste, instilling lure in honeyed jaws,
To her yet uninitiated lord

[1] Comp. Ps. xxix. 3, especially in "Great Bible" (xxviii. 3 in LXX.).
[2] Malum. [3] Mali.
[4] "Numquid poma Deus non omnia nota sacravit?"
[5] Mundus.
[6] The writer, supposing it to be night (see 88, 89), seems to mean that the serpent hinted that the fruit would instantly dispel night and restore day. Compare the ensuing lines.

Constrained her to present the gift; which he
No sooner took, than—night effaced!—their eyes
110 Shone out serene in the resplendent world.[1]
When, then, they each their body bare espied,
And when their shameful parts they see, with leaves
Of fig they shadow them.
By chance, beneath
The sun's now setting light, they recognise
115 The sound of the Lord's voice, and, trembling, haste
To bypaths. Then the Lord of heaven accosts
The mournful Adam: "Say, where now thou art."
Who suppliant thus answers: "Thine address,
O Lord, O Mighty One, I tremble at,
120 Beneath my fearful heart; and, being bare,
I faint with chilly dread." Then said the Lord:
"Who hath the hurtful fruits, then, given you?"
"This woman, while she tells me how her eyes
With brilliant day promptly perfusèd were,
125 And on her dawned the liquid sky serene,
And heaven's sun and stars, o'ergave them me!"
Forthwith God's anger frights perturbèd Eve,
While the Most High inquires the authorship
Of the forbidden act. Hereon she opes
130 Her tale: "The speaking serpent's suasive words
I harboured, while the guile and bland request
Misled me: for, with venoms viperous
His words inweaving, stories told he me
Of those delights which should all fruits excel."
135 Straightway the Omnipotent the dragon's deeds
Condemns, and bids him be to all a sight
Unsightly, monstrous; bids him presently
With grovelling breast to crawl; and then to bite
And chew the soil; while war should to all time
140 'Twixt human senses and his tottering self
Be waged, that he might creep, crestfallen, prone,
Behind the legs of men,[2]—that while he glides

[1] Mundo. [2] Virorum.

Close on their heels they may down-trample him.
The woman, sadly caught by guileful words,
145 Is bidden yield her fruit with struggle hard,
And bear her husband's yoke with patient zeal.[1]
"But thou, to whom the sentence[2] of thy wife
(Who, vanquished, to the dragon pitiless
Yielded) seemed true, shalt through long times deplore
150 Thy labour sad; for thou shalt see, instead
Of wheaten harvest's seed, the thistle rise,
And the thorn plenteously with pointed spines:
So that, with weary heart and mournful breast,
Full many sighs shall furnish anxious food;[3]
155 Till, in the setting hour of coming death,
To level earth, whence thou thy body draw'st,
Thou be restored." This done, the Lord bestows
Upon the trembling pair a tedious life;
And from the sacred gardens far removes
160 Them downcast, and locates them opposite,
And from the threshold bars them by mid fire,
Wherein from out the swift heat is evolved
A cherubim,[4] while fierce the hot point glows,
And rolls enfolding flames. And lest their limbs
165 With sluggish cold should be benumbed, the Lord
Hides flayed from cattle's flesh together sews,
With vestures warm their bare limbs covering.
When, therefore, Adam—now believing—felt
(By wedlock taught) his manhood, he confers
170 On his loved wife the mother's name; and, made
Successively by scions twain a sire,

[1] "Servitiumque sui studio perferre mariti;" or, perhaps, "and drudge in patience at her husband's beck."

[2] "Sententia:" her sentence, or opinion, as to the fruit and its effects.

[3] Or, "That with heart-weariness and mournful breast
Full many sighs may furnish anxious food."

[4] The writer makes "cherubim"—or "cherubin"—singular. I have therefore retained his mistake. What the "hot point"—"calidus apex"—is, is not clear. It may be an allusion to the "flaming sword" (see Gen. iii. 24); or it may mean the top of the flame.

Gives names to stocks[1] divèrse: Caïn the first
Hath for his name, to whom is Abel joined.
The latter's care tended the harmless sheep;
175 The other turned the earth with curvèd plough.
These, when in course of time[2] they brought their gifts
To Him who thunders, offered—as their sense
Prompted them—fruits unlike. The elder one
Offered the first-fruits[3] of the fertile glebes:
180 The other pays his vows with gentle lamb,
Bearing in hand the entrails pure, and fat
Snow-white; and to the Lord, who pious vows
Beholds, is instantly accèptable.
Wherefore with anger cold did Caïn glow;[4]
185 With whom God deigns to talk, and thus begins:
"Tell Me, if thou live rightly, and discern
Things hurtful, couldst thou not then pass thine age.
Pure from contracted guilt? Cease to essay
With gnawing sense thy brother's ruin, who,
190 Subject to thee as lord, his neck shall yield."
Not e'en thus softened, he unto the fields
Conducts his brother; whom when overta'en
In lonely mead he saw, with his twin palms
Bruising his pious throat, he crushed life out.
195 Which deed the Lord espying from high heaven,
Straitly demands "where Abel is on earth?"

[1] Or, "origins"—"orsis"—because Cain and Abel were original types, as it were, of two separate classes of men.

[2] "Perpetuo;" "in process of time," Eng. ver.; μετ' ἡμέρας, LXX. in Gen. iv. 3.

[3] Quæ prosata fuerant. But, as Wordsworth remarks on Gen. iv., we do not read that Caïn's offerings were first-fruits even.

[4] Quod propter gelida Caïn incanduit ira. If this, which is Oehler's and Migne's reading, be correct, the words *gelida* and *incanduit* seem to be intentionally contrasted, unless *incandescere* be used here in a supposed sense of "growing white," "turning pale." *Urere* is used in Latin of heat and cold indifferently. *Calida* would, of course, be a ready emendation; but *gelida* has the advantage of being far more startling.

He says "he will not as his brother's guard
Be set." Then God outspeaks to him again:
"Doth not the sound of his blood's voice, sent up
200 To me, ascend unto heaven's lofty pole?
Learn, therefore, for so great a crime what doom
Shall wait thee. Earth, which with thy kinsman's blood
Hath reeked but now, shall to thy hateful hand
Refuse to render back the cursèd seeds
205 Entrusted her; nor shall, if set with herbs,
Produce her fruit: that, torpid, thou shalt dash
Thy limbs against each other with much fear." . . .

A STRAIN OF THE JUDGMENT OF THE LORD.

(AUTHOR UNCERTAIN.)[1]

WHO will for me in fitting strain adapt
Field-haunting muses? and with flowers will grace
The spring-tide's rosy gales? And who will give
The summer-harvest's heavy stalks mature?
5 And to the autumn's vines their swollen grapes?
Or who in winter's honour will commend
The olives, ever-peaceful? and will ope
Waters renewed, even at their fountainheads?
And cut from waving grass the leafy flowers?
10 Forthwith the breezes of celestial light
I will attune. Now be it granted me
To meet the lightsome[2] muses! to disclose
The secret rivers on the fluvial top
Of Helicon,[3] and gladsome woods that grow
15 'Neath other star.[4] And simultaneously
I will attune in song the eternal flames;
Whence the sea fluctuates with wave immense;
What power[5] moves the solid lands to quake;

[1] The reader is requested to bear in mind, in reading this piece, tedious in its elaborate struggles after effect, that the constant repetitions of words and expressions with which his patience will be tried are due to the original. It was irksome to reproduce them; but fidelity is a translator's first law.

[2] Luciferas.

[3] Helicon is not named in the original, but it seems to be meant.

[4] *i.e.* in another clime or continent. The writer is (or feigns to be) an African. Helicon, of course, is in Europe.

[5] Virtus.

And whence the golden light first shot its rays
20 On the new world; or who from gladsome clay
Could man have moulded; whence in empty world[1]
Our race could have upgrown; and what the greed
Of living which each people so inspires;
What things for ill created are; or what
25 Death's propagation; whence have rosy wreaths
Sweet smell and ruddy hue; what makes the vine
Ferment in gladsome grapes away; and makes
Full granaries by fruit of slender stalks
Distended be; or makes the tree grow ripe
30 'Mid ice, with olives black; who gives to seeds
Their increments of vigour various;
And with her young's soft shadowings protects
The mother. Good it is all things to know
Which wondrous are in nature, that it may
35 Be granted us to recognise through all
The true Lord, who light, seas, sky, earth prepared,
And decked with varied star the new-made world;[2]
And first bade beasts and birds to issue forth;
And gave the ocean's waters to be stocked
40 With fish; and gathered in a mass the sands,
With living creatures fertilized. Such strains
With stately[3] muses will I spin, and waves
Healthful will from their fountainheads disclose:
And may this strain of mine the gladsome shower
45 Catch, which from placid clouds doth come, and flows
Deeply and all unsought into men's souls,
And guide it into our new-turnèd lands
In copious rills.[4]
Now come: if any one
Still ignorant of God, and knowing naught
50 Of life to come,[5] would fain attain to touch

[1] Sæculo. [2] Mundum. [3] Compositis.

[4] I have endeavoured to give some intelligible sense to these lines; but the absence of syntax in the original, as it now stands, makes it necessary to guess at the meaning as best one may.

[5] Venturi ævi.

The care-effacing living lymph, and through
The swift waves' virtue his lost life repair,
And 'scape the penalties of flame eterne,[1]
And rather win the guerdons of the life
55 To come, let such remember God is One,
Alone the object of our prayers; who 'neath
His threshold hath the whole world poised; Himself
Eternally abiding, and to be
Alway for aye; holding the ages[2] all;
60 Alone, before all ages;[2] unbegotten,
Limitless God; who holds alone His seat
Supernal; supereminent alone
Above high heavens; omnipotent alone;
Whom all things do obey; who for Himself
65 Formed, when it pleased Him, man for aye; and gave
Him to be pastor of beasts tame, and lord
Of wild; who by a word[3] could stretch forth heaven;
And with a word could solid earth suspend;
And quicklier than word[4] had the sea's wave
70 Disjoined;[5] and man's dear form with His own hands
Did love to mould; and furthermore did will
His own fair likeness[6] to exist in him;
And by His Spirit on his countenance
The breath[7] of life did breathe.
Unmindful he
75 Of God, such guilt rashly t' incur! Beyond
The warning's range he was not aught to touch.[8]

[1] "But in them nature's copy's not *eterne.*"—Shakspere, *Macbeth*, act iii. scene 2.

[2] Sæcula.

[3] *Sermone tenus: i.e.* the exertion (so to speak) needed to do such mighty works only extended to the uttering of a speech; no more was requisite. See for a similar allusion to the contrast between the making of other things and the making of man, the "Genesis," 30–39.

[4] Dicto.

[5] *i.e.* from the solid mass of earth. See Gen. i. 9, 10.

[6] Faciem.

[7] "Auram," or "breeze."

[8] "Immemor ille Dei temere committere tale!
Non ultra monitum quidquam contingeret."

Whether I have hit the sense here I know not. In this and in other passages I have punctuated for myself.

One fruit illicit, whence he was to know
Forthwith how to discriminate alike
Evil and equity, God him forbade
80 To touch. What functions of the world[1] did God
Permit to man, and sealed the sweet sweet pledge
Of His own love! and jurisdiction gave
O'er birds, and granted him both deep and soil
To tame, and mandates useful did impart
85 Of dear salvation! 'Neath his sway He gave
The lands, the souls of flying things, the race
Feathered, and every race, or tame or wild,
Of beasts, and the sea's race, and monster-forms
Shapeless of swimming things. But since so soon
90 The primal man by primal crime transgressed
The law, and left the mandates of the Lord
(Led by a wife who counselled all the ills),
By death he 'gan to perish. Woman 'twas
Who sin's first ill committed, and (the law
95 Transgressed) deceived her husband. Eve, induced
By guile, the thresholds oped to death, and proved
To her own self, with her whole race as well,
A procreatrix of funereal woes.
Hence unanticipated wickedness,
100 Hence death, like seed, for aye, is scattered. Then
More frequent grew atrocious deed; and toil
More savage set the corrupt orb astir:
(This lure the crafty serpent spread, inspired
By envy's self:) then peoples more invent
105 Practices of ill deeds; and by ill deeds
Gave birth to seeds of wickedness.
And so
The only Lord, whose is the power supreme,
Who o'er the heights the summits holds of heaven
Supreme, and in exalted regions dwells
110 In lofty light for ages, mindful too
Of present time, and of futurity
Prescient beforehand, keeps the progeny

[1] Munera mundi.

Of ill-desert, and all the souls which move
By reason's force much-erring man—nor less
115 Their tardy bodies governs He—against
The age decreed, so soon as, stretched in death,
Men lay aside their ponderous limbs, and, light
As air, shall go, their earthly bonds undone,
And take in diverse parts their proper spheres.
120 (But some He bids be forthwith by glad gales
Recalled to life, and be in secret kept
To wait the decreed law's awards, until
Their bodies with resuscitated limbs
Revive.[1]) Then shall men 'gin to weigh the awards
125 Of their first life, and on their crime and faults
To think, and keep them for their penalties
Which will be far from death; and mindful grow
Of pious duties, by God's judgments taught;
To wait expectant for their penalty
130 And their descendants', fruit of their own crime;
Or else to live wholly the life of sheep,[2]
Without a name; and in God's ear, now deaf,
Pour unavailing weeping.
Shall not God
Almighty, 'neath whose law are all things ruled,
135 Be able after death life to restore?
Or is there aught which the creation's Lord
Unable seems to do? If, darkness chased,
He could outstretch the light, and could compound
All the world's mass by a word suddenly,
140 And raise by potent voice all things from *nought*,

[1] These lines, again, are but a guess at the meaning of the original, which is as obscure as defiance of grammar can well make it. The sense seems to be, in brief, that while the vast majority are, immediately on their death, shut up in Hades to await the "decreed age," *i.e.* the day of judgment, some, like the children raised by Elijah and Elisha, the man who revived on touching Elisha's bones, and the like, are raised *to die again*. Lower down it will be seen that the writer believes that the saints who came out of their graves after our Lord's resurrection (see Matt. xxvii. 51-54) did *not* die again.

[2] Cf. Ps. xlix. 14 (xlviii. 15 in LXX.).

Why out of *somewhat*[1] could He not compound
The well-known shape which erst had been, which He
Had moulded formerly; and bid the form
Arise assimilated to Himself
145 Again? Since God's are all things, earth the more
Gives Him all back; for she will, when He bids,
Unweave whate'er she woven had before.
If one, perhaps, laid on sepulchral pyre,
The flame consumed; or one in its blind waves
150 The ocean have dismembered; if of one
The entrails have, in hunger, satisfied
The fishes; or on any's limbs wild beasts
Have fastened cruel death; or any's blood,
His body reft by birds, unhid have lain:
155 Yet shall they not wrest from the mighty Lord
His latest dues. Need is that men appear
Quickened from death 'fore God, and at His bar
Stand in their shapes resumed. Thus arid seeds
Are dropt into the vacant lands, and deep
160 In the fixt furrows die and rot: and hence
Is not their surface[2] animated soon
With stalks repaired? and do they[3] not grow strong
And yellow with the living grains? and, rich
With various usury,[4] new harvests rise
165 In mass? The stars all set, and, born again,
Renew their sheen; and day dies with its light
Lost in dense night; and now night wanes herself
As light unveils creation presently;
And now another and another day
170 Rises from its own stars; and the sun sets,
Bright as it is with splendour-bearing light;
Light perishes when by the coming eve
The world[5] is shaded; and the phœnix lives

[1] *i.e.* the dust into which our bodies turn.
[2] *i.e.* the surface or ridge of the furrows. [3] *i.e.* the furrows.
[4] "Some thirty-fold, some sixty-fold, some an hundred-fold." See the parable of the sower.
[5] Mundo.

By her own soot[1] renewed, and presently
175 Rises, again a bird, O wondrous sight!
After her burnings! The bare tree in time
Shoots with her leaves; and once more are her boughs
Curved by the germen of the fruits.
While then
The world[2] throughout is trembling at God's voice,
180 And deeply movèd are the high air's powers,[3]
Then comes a crash unwonted, then ensue
Heaven's mightiest murmurs, on the approach of God,
The whole world's[4] Judge! His countless ministers
Forthwith conjoin their rushing march, and God
185 With majesty supernal fence around.
Angelic bands will from the heaven descend
To earth; all, God's host, whose is faculty
Divine; in form and visage spirits all
Of virtue: in them fiery vigour is;
190 Rutilant are their bodies; heaven's might
Divine about them flashes; the whole orb
Hence murmurs; and earth, trembling to her depths
(Or whatsoe'er her bulk is[5]), echoes back
The roar, parturient of men, whom she,
195 Being bidden, will with grief upyield.[6] All stand

[1] Fuligine. [2] Mundo.

[3] Virtutibus. Perhaps the allusion is to Eph. ii. 2, Matt. xxiv. 29, Luke xxi. 26.

[4] Mundi.

[5] Vel quanta est. If this be the right sense, the words are probably inserted, because the conflagration of "the earth and the works that are therein" predicted in 2 Pet. iii. 10, and referred to lower down in this piece, is supposed to have begun, and thus the "depths" of the earth are supposed to be already diminishing.

[6] I have ventured to alter one letter of the Latin; and for "quos reddere jussa docebit," read "quos reddere jussa do*l*ebit." If the common reading be retained, the only possible meaning seems to be "whom she will teach to render [to God] His commands," *i.e.* to render obedience to them; or else, "to render [to God] what they are bidden to render," *i.e.* an account of themselves; and earth, as their mother, giving them birth out of her womb, is said to teach them to do this. But the emendation, which is at all events simple, seems to give a better

In wonderment. At last disturbèd are
The clouds, and the stars move and quake from height
Of sudden power.[1] When thus God comes, with voice
Of potent sound, at once throughout all realms
200 The sepulchres are burst, and every ground
Outpours bones from wide chasms, and opening sand
Outbelches living peoples; to the hair[2]
The members cleave; the bones inwoven are
With marrow; the entwinèd sinews rule
205 The breathing bodies; and the veins 'gin throb
With simultaneously infusèd blood:
And, from their caves dismissed, to open day
Souls are restored, and seek to find again
Each its own organs, as at their own place
210 They rise. O wondrous faith! Hence every age
Shoots forth; forth shoots from ancient dust the host
Of dead. Regaining light, there rise again
Mothers, and sires, and high-souled youths, and boys,
And maids unwedded; and deceased old men
215 Stand by with living souls; and with the cries
Of babes the groaning orb resounds.[3] Then tribes
Various from their lowest seats will come:
Bands of the Easterns; those which earth's extreme
Sees; those which dwell in the downsloping clime
220 Of the mid-world, and hold the frosty star's
Riphæan citadels. Every colonist
Of every land stands frighted here: the boor;
The son of Atreus[4] with his diadem
Of royalty put off; the rich man mixt
225 Coequally in line with pauper peers.
Deep tremor everywhere: then groans the orb

sense: "being bidden to render the dead, whom she is keeping, up, earth will grieve at the throes it causes her, but will do it."

[1] Subitæ virtutis ab alto. [2] Comis, here "the heads."

[3] This passage is imitated from Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 305 sqq.; *Georg.* iv. 475 sqq.

[4] *i.e.* "the king." The "Atridæ" of Homer are referred to,—Agamemnon "king of men," and Menelaus.

With prayers; and peoples stretching forth their hands
Grow stupid with the din!
The Lord Himself
Seated, is bright with light sublime; and fire
230 Potent in all the Virtues[1] flashing shines.
And on His high-raised throne the Heavenly One
Coruscates from His seat; with martyrs hemmed
(A dazzling troop of men), and by His seers
Elect accompanied (whose bodies bright
235 Effulgent are with snowy stoles), He towers
Above them. And now priests in lustrous robes
Attend, who wear upon their markèd[2] front
Wreaths golden-red; and all submissive kneel
And reverently adore. The cry of all
240 Is one: "O Holy, Holy, Holy, God!"
To these[3] the Lord will mandate give, to range
The people in twin lines; and orders them
To set apart by number the depraved;
While such as have His biddings followèd
245 With placid words He calls, and bids them, clad
With vigour—death quite conquered—ever dwell
Amid light's inextinguishable airs,
Stroll through the ancients' ever blooming realm,
Through promised wealth, through ever sunny swards,
250 And in bright body spend perpetual life.
A place there is, belovèd of the Lord,
In Eastern coasts, where light is bright and clear,
And healthier blows the breeze; day is eterne,
Time changeless: 'tis a region set apart
255 By God, most rich in plains, and passing blest,
In the meridian[4] of His cloudless seat.

[1] Or, "Powers."

[2] Insigni. The allusion seems to be to Ezek. ix. 4, 6, Rev. vii. 3 et seqq., xx. 3, 4, and to the inscribed mitre of the Jewish high priest, see Ex. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30.

[3] I have corrected "*his*" for "*hic*." If the latter be retained, it would seem to mean "hereon."

[4] Cardine, *i.e.* the *hinge* as it were upon which the sun turns in his course.

There gladsome is the air, and is in light
Ever to be; soft is the wind, and breathes
Life-giving blasts; earth, fruitful with a soil
260 Luxuriant, bears all things; in the meads
Flowers shed their fragrance; and upon the plains
The purple—not in envy—mingles all
With golden-ruddy light. One gladsome flower,
With its own lustre clad, another clothes;
265 And here with many a seed the dewy fields
Are dappled, and the snowy tilths are crisped
With rosy flowers. No region happier
Is known in other spots; none which in look
Is fairer, or in honour more excels.
270 Never in flowery gardens are there born
Such lilies, nor do such upon our plains
Outbloom; nor does the rose so blush, what time,
New-born, 'tis opened by the breeze; nor is
The purple with such hue by Tyrian dye
275 Imbued. With coloured pebbles beauteous gleams
The gem: here shines the prasinus;[1] there glows
The carbuncle; and giant-emerald
Is green with grassy light. Here too are born
The cinnamons, with odoriferous twigs;
280 And with dense leaf gladsome amomum joins
Its fragrance. Here, a native, lies the gold
Of radiant sheen; and lofty groves reach heaven
In blooming time, and germens fruitfullest
Burden the living boughs. No glades like these
285 Hath Ind herself forth-stretcht; no tops so dense
Rears on her mount the pine; nor with a shade
So lofty-leavèd is her cypress crisped;
Nor better in its season blooms her bough
In spring-tide. Here black firs on lofty peak
290 Bloom; and the only woods that know no hail
Are green eternally: no foliage falls;
At no time fails the flower. There, too, there blooms
A flower as red as Tarsine purple is:

[1] See the "Genesis," 73.

A rose, I ween, it is (red hue it has,
295 And odour keen); such aspect on its leaves
It wears, such odour breathes. A tree it[1] stands,
With a new flower, fairest in fruits; a crop
Life-giving, dense, its happy strength does yield.
Rich honies with green cane their fragrance join,
300 And milk flows potable in runnels full;
And with whate'er that sacred earth is green,
It all breathes life; and there Crete's healing gift[2]
Is sweetly redolent. There, with smooth tide,
Flows in the placid plains a fount: four floods
305 Thence water parted lands.[3] The garden robed
With flowers, I wot, keeps ever spring; no cold
Of wintry star varies the breeze; and earth,
After her birth-throes, with a kindlier blast
Repairs. Night there is none; the stars maintain
310 Their darkness; angers, envies, and dire greed
Are absent; and out-shut is fear, and cares
Driven from the threshold. Here the Evil One
Is homeless; he is into worthy courts
Out-gone, nor is't e'er granted him to touch
315 The glades forbidden. But here ancient faith
Rests in elect abode; and life here treads,
Joying in an eternal covenant;
And health[4] without a care is gladsome here
In placid tilths, ever to live and be
320 Ever in light.
Here whosoe'er hath lived
Pious, and cultivant of equity
And goodness; who hath feared the thundering God
With mind sincere; with sacred duteousness

[1] Or, "there." The question is, whether a different tree is meant, or the rose just spoken of.

[2] This seems to be *marshmallows.*

[3] Here again it is plain that the writer is drawing his description from what we read of the garden of Eden.

[4] "Salus," health (probably) in its widest sense, both bodily and mental; or perhaps "safety," "salvation."

Tended his parents; and his other life[1]
325 Spent ever crimeless; or who hath consoled
With faithful help a friend in indigence;
Succoured the over-toiling needy one,
As orphans' patron, and the poor man's aid;
Rescued the innocent, and succoured them
330 When prest with accusation; hath to guests
His ample table's pledges given; hath done
All things divinely; pious offices
Enjoined; done hurt to none; ne'er coveted
Another's: such as these, exulting all
335 In divine praises, and themselves at once
Exhorting, raise their voices to the stars;
Thanksgivings to the Lord in joyous wise
They psalming celebrate; and they shall go
Their harmless way with comrade messengers.
340 When ended hath the Lord these happy gifts,
And likewise sent away to realms eterne
The just, then comes a pitiable crowd
Wailing its crimes; with parching tears it pours
All groans effusely, and attests[2] its acts
345 With frequent ululations. At the sight
Of flames, their merit's due, and stagnant pools
Of fire, wrath's weapons, they 'gin tremble all.[3]
Them an angelic host, upsnatching them,
Forbids to pray, forbids to pour their cries
350 (Too late!) with clamour loud: pardon withheld,
Into the lowest bottom they are hurled!
O miserable men! how oft to you
Hath Majesty divine made itself known!
The sounds of heaven ye have heard; have seen

[1] Reliquam vitam, *i.e.* apparently his life in all other relations; unless it mean his life *after his parents' death*, which seems less likely.

[2] *i.e.* "appeals to." So Burke: "I *attest* the former, I *attest* the coming generations." This "attesting of its acts" seems to refer to Matt. xxv. 44. It appeals to them in hope of mitigating its doom.

[3] This seems to be the sense. The Latin stands thus: "Flammas pro meritis, stagnantia tela tremiscunt."

355 Its lightnings; have experienced its rains
Assiduous; its ires of winds and hail!
How often nights and days serene do make
Your seasons—God's gifts—fruitful with fair yields!
Roses were vernal; the grain's summer-tide
360 Failed not; the autumn variously poured
Its mellow fruits; the rugged winter brake
The olives, icy though they were: 'twas God
Who granted all, nor did His goodness fail.
At God earth trembled; on His voice the deep
365 Hung, and the rivers trembling fled and left
Sands dry; and every creature everywhere
Confesses God! Ye (miserable men!)
Have heaven's Lord and earth's denied; and oft
(Horrible!) have God's heralds put to flight;[1]
370 And rather slain the just with slaughter fell;
And, after crime, fraud ever hath in you
Inhered. Ye then shall reap the natural fruit
Of your iniquitous sowing. That God *is*
Ye know; yet are ye wont to laugh at Him.
375 Into deep darkness ye shall go of fire
And brimstone; doomed to suffer glowing ires
In torments just.[2] God bids your bones descend
To[3] penalty eternal; go beneath
The ardour of an endless raging hell;[4]
380 Be urged, a seething mass, through rotant pools
Of flame; and into threatening flame He bids
The elements convert; and all heaven's fire
Descend in clouds.
Then greedy Tartarus
With rapid fire enclosèd is; and flame
385 Is fluctuant within with tempest waves;
And the whole earth her whirling embers blends!

[1] Or, "banished."

[2] I adopt the correction (suggested in Migne) of just*is* for just*as*.

[3] This is an extraordinary use for the Latin dative; and even if the meaning be "*for* (*i.e.* to suffer) penalty eternal," it is scarcely less so.

[4] Gehennæ.

There is a flamy furrow ; teeth acute
Are turned to plough it, and for all the years[1]
The fiery torrent will be armed : with force
390 Tartarean will the conflagrations gnash
Their teeth upon the world.[2] There are they scorched
In seething tide with course precipitate ;
Hence flee ; thence back are borne in sharp career ;
The savage flame's ire meets them fugitive !
395 And now at length they own the penalty
Their own, the natural issue of their crime.
And now the reeling earth, by not a swain
Possest, is by the sea's profundity
Prest, at her farthest limit, where the sun
400 (His ray out-measurèd) divides the orb,
And where, when traversed is the world,[2] the stars
Are hidden. Ether thickens. O'er the light
Spreads sable darkness ; and the latest flames
Stagnate in secret rills. A place there is
405 Whose nature is with sealèd penalties
Fiery, and a dreadful marsh white-hot
With heats infernal, where, in furnaces
Horrific, penal deed roars loud, and seethes,
And, rushing into torments, is up-caught
410 By the flame's vortex wide ; by savage wave
And surge the turbid sand all mingled is
With miry bottom. Hither will be sent,
Groaning, the captive crowd of evil ones,
And wickedness (the sinful body's train),
415 To burn ! Great is the beating there of breasts,
By bellowing of grief accompanied ;
Wild is the hissing of the flames, and thence
The ululation of the sufferers !
And flames, and limbs sonorous,[3] will out-rise
420 Afar : more fierce will the fire burn ; and up
To th' upper air the groaning will be borne.

[1] Or, "*in* all the years ;" but see note 3, p. 313. [2] Mundo.
[3] "Artusque sonori," *i.e.* probably the arms and hands with which (as has been suggested just before) the sufferers beat their unhappy breasts.

Then human progeny its bygone deeds
Of ill will weigh; and will begin to stretch
Heavenward its palms; and then will wish to know
425 The Lord, whom erst it would not know, what time
To know Him had proved useful to them. There,
His life's excesses, handiworks unjust,
And crimes of savage mind, each will confess,
And at the knowledge of the impious deeds
430 Of his own life will shudder. And now first,
Whoe'er erewhile cherished ill thoughts of God;
Had worshipped stones unsteady, lyingly
Pretending to divinity; hath e'er
Made sacred to gore-stained images
435 Altars; hath voiceless pictured figures feared;
Hath slender shades of false divinity
Revered; whome'er ill error onward hath
Seduced; whoe'er was an adulterer,
Or with the sword had slain his sons; whoe'er
440 Had stalked in robbery; whoe'er by fraud
His clients had deferred; whoe'er with mind
Unfriendly had behaved himself, or stained
His palms with blood of men, or poison mixt
Wherein death lurked, or robed with wicked guise
445 His breast, or at his neighbour's ill, or gain
Iniquitous, was wont to joy; whoe'er
Committed whatsoever wickedness
Of evil deeds: him mighty heat shall rack,
And bitter fire; and these all shall endure,
450 In passing painful death, their punishment.
Thus shall the vast crowd lie of mourning men!
This oft as holy prophets sang of old,
And (by God's inspiration warned) oft told
The future, none ('tis pity!) none (alas!)
455 Did lend his ears. But God Almighty willed
His guerdons to be known, and His law's threats
'Mid multitudes of such like signs promulged.
He 'stablished them[1] by sending prophets more,

[1] *i.e.* the "guerdons" and the "threats."

These likewise uttering words divine; and some,
460 Roused from their sleep, He bids go from their tombs
Forth with Himself, when He, His own tomb burst,
Had risen. Many 'wildered were, indeed,
To see the tombs agape, and in clear light
Corpses long dead appear; and, wondering
465 At their discourses pious, dulcet words!
Starward they stretch their palms at the mere sound,[1]
And offer God and so-victorious Christ
Their gratulating homage. Certain 'tis
That *these* no more re-sought their silent graves,
470 Nor were retained within earth's bowels shut;[2]
But the remaining host reposes now
In lowliest beds, until—time's circuit run—
That great day do arrive.
Now all of you
Own the true Lord, who alone makes this soul
475 Of ours to see His light,[3] and can the same
(To Tartarus sent) subject to penalties;
And to whom all the power of life and death
Is open. Learn that God *can* do whate'er
He list; for 'tis enough for Him to *will*,
480 And by mere speaking He achieves the deed;
And Him nought plainly, by withstanding, checks.
He is my God alone, to whom I trust
With deepest senses. But, since death concludes
Every career, let whoe'er *is* to-day
485 Bethink him over all things in his mind.
And thus, while life remains, while 'tis allowed
To see the light and change your life, before
The limit of allotted age o'ertake
You unawares, and that last day, which[4] is

[1] "Ipsa voce," unless it mean "voice and all," *i.e.* and their voice as well as their palms.

[2] See note 1, p. 305.

[3] Here again a correction suggested in Migne's ed., of "su*am* luc*em*" for "su*a* luc*e*," is adopted.

[4] "Qui" is read here, after Migne's suggestion, for "quia;" and Oehler's and Migne's punctuation both are set aside.

490 By death's law fixt, your senseless eyes do glaze,
Seek what remains worth seeking: watchful be
For dear salvation; and run down with ease
And certainty the good course. Wipe away
By pious sacred rites your past misdeeds
495 Which expiation need; and shun the storms,
The too uncertain tempests, of the world.[1]
Then turn to right paths, and keep sanctities.
Hence from your gladsome minds depravèd crime
Quite banish; and let long-inveterate fault
500 Be washed forth from your breast; and do away
Wicked ill-stains contracted; and appease
Dread God by prayers eternal; and let all
Most evil mortal things to living good
Give way: and now at once a new life keep
505 Without a crime; and let your minds begin
To use themselves to good things and to true:
And render ready voices to God's praise.
Thus shall your piety find better things
All growing to a flame; thus shall ye, too,
510 Receive the gifts of the celestial life;[2]
And, to long age, shall ever live with God,
Seeing the starry kingdom's golden joys.

[1] Mundi.

[2] Or, "assume the functions of the heavenly life."

FIVE BOOKS IN REPLY TO MARCION.

(AUTHOR UNCERTAIN.)

BOOK I.

OF THE DIVINE UNITY, AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.

PART I.

Of the Divine Unity.

FTER the Evil One's impiety
Profound, and his life-grudging mind, entrapped
Seducèd men with empty hope, it laid
Them bare, by impious suasion to false trust
5 In him,—not with impunity, indeed;
For he forthwith, as guilty of the deed,
And author rash of such a wickedness,
Received deservèd maledictions. Thus,
Thereafter, maddened, he, most desperate foe,
10 Did more assail and instigate men's minds
In darkness sunk. He taught them to forget
The Lord, and leave sure hope, and idols vain
Follow, and shape themselves a crowd of gods,
Lots, auguries, false names of stars, the show
15 Of being able to o'errule the births
Of embryos by inspecting entrails, and
Expecting things to come, by hardihood
Of dreadful magic's renegadoes led,
Wondering at a mass of feignèd lore;
20 And he impelled them headlong to spurn life,

Sunk in a criminal insanity;
To joy in blood; to threaten murders fell;
To love the wound, then, in their neighbour's flesh;
Or, burning, and by pleasure's heat entrapped,
25 To transgress nature's covenants, and stain
Pure bodies, manly sex, with an embrace
Unnameable, and uses feminine
Mingled in common contact lawlessly;
Urging embraces chaste, and dedicate
30 To generative duties, to be held
For intercourse obscene for passion's sake.
Such in time past his deeds, assaulting men,
Through the soul's lurking-places, with a flow
Of scorpion-venom,—not that men would blame
35 Him, for they followed of their own accord:
His suasion was in guile; in freedom man
Performed it.
Whileas the perfidious one
Continuously through the centuries[1]
Is breathing such ill fumes, and into hearts
40 Seduced injecting his own counselling,
And hoping in his folly (alas!) to find
Forgiveness of his wickedness, unware
What sentence on his deed is waiting him;
With words of wisdom's weaving,[2] and a voice
45 Presaging from God's Spirit, speak a host
Of prophets. Publicly he[3] does not dare
Nakedly to speak evil of the Lord,
Hoping by secret ingenuity
He possibly may lurk unseen. At length
50 The soul's Light[4] as the thrall of flesh is held;
The Hope of the despairing, mightier
Than foe, enters the lists; the Fashioner,
The Renovator, of the body He;

[1] Sæcula.
[2] The "*tectis*" of the edd. I have ventured to alter to "*textis*," which gives (as in my text) a far better sense.
[3] *i.e.* the Evil One.
[4] *i.e.* the Son of God.

True Glory of the Father; Son of God;
55 Author unique; a Judge and Lord He came,
The orb's renownèd King; to the opprest
Prompt to give pardon, and to loose the bound;
Whose friendly aid and penal suffering
Blend God and renewed man in one. With child
60 Is holy virgin: life's new gate opes; words
Of prophets find their proof, fulfilled by facts;
Priests[1] leave their temples, and—a star their guide—
Wonder the Lord so mean a birth should choose.
Waters—sight memorable!—turn to wine;
65 Eyes are restored to blind; fiends trembling cry,
Outdriven by His bidding, and own Christ!
All limbs, already rotting, by a word
Are healed; now walks the lame; the deaf forthwith
Hears hope; the maimed extends his hand; the dumb
70 Speaks mighty words: sea at His bidding calms,
Winds drop; and all things recognise the Lord:
Confounded is the foe, and yields, though fierce,
Now triumphed over, to unequal[2] arms!
When all his enterprises now revoked
75 He[3] sees; the flesh, once into ruin sunk,
Now rising; man—death vanquisht quite—to heavens
Soaring; the peoples sealed with holy pledge
Outpoured;[4] the work and envied deeds of might
Marvellous;[5] and hears, too, of penalties

[1] *i.e.* the Magi.

[2] *i.e.* arms which *seemed* unequal; for the cross, in which Christ *seemed* to be vanquished, was the very means of His triumph. See Col. ii. 14, 15.

[3] *i.e.* the Enemy.

[4] *i.e.* with the Holy Spirit, the "Pledge" or "Promise" of the Father (see Acts i. 4, 5), "outpoured" upon "the peoples"—both Jewish and Gentile—on the day of Pentecost and many subsequent occasions; see, for instances, Acts x. and xix.

[5] The "mirandæ virtutis opus, invisaque facta," I take to be the miracles wrought by the apostles through the might (virtus) of the Spirit, as we read in the Acts. These were objects of "envy" to the Enemy, and to such as—like Simon Magus, of whom we find record—were his servants.

80 Extreme, and of perpetual dark, prepared
For himself by the Lord by God's decree
Irrevocable; naked and unarmed,
Damned, vanquisht, doomed to perish in a death
Perennial, guilty now, and sure that he
85 No pardon has, a last impiety
Forthwith he dares,—to scatter everywhere
A word for ears to shudder at, nor meet
For voice to speak. Accosting men cast off
From God's community,[1] men wandering
90 Without the light, found mindless, following
Things earthly, them he teaches to become
Depravèd teachers of depravity.
By[2] them he preaches that there are two Sires,
And realms divided: ill's cause is the Lord[3]
95 Who built the orb, fashioned breath-quickened flesh,
And gave the law, and by the seers' voice spake.
Him he affirms not *good*, but owns Him *just;*
Hard, cruel, taking pleasure fell in war;
In judgment dreadful, pliant to no prayers.
100 His suasion tells of other one, to none
E'er known, who nowhere is, a deity
False, nameless, constituting nought, and who
Hath spoken precepts none. Him he calls *good;*
Who judges none, but spares all equally,
105 And grudges life to none. No judgment waits
The guilty; so he says, bearing about
A gory poison with sweet honey mixt
For wretched men. That flesh can rise—to which

[1] *i.e.* excommunicated, as Marcion was. The "last impiety" (*extremum nefas*), or "last atrocity" (*extremum facinus*),—see 218, lower down—seems to mean the introduction of *heretical teaching.*

[2] This use of the ablative, though quite against classical usage, is apparently admissible in late Latinity. It seems to me that the "his" *is* an ablative here, the men being regarded for the moment as merely *instruments*, not *agents;* but it *may* be a dative = "*to* these he preaches," etc., *i.e.* he dictates *to* them what they afterwards are to teach in public.

[3] It must be borne in mind that "Dominus" (the Lord), and "Deus" (God), are kept as distinct terms throughout this piece.

Himself was cause of ruin, which he spoiled
110 Iniquitously with contempt (whence,[1] cursed,
He hath grief without end), its ever-foe,—
He doth deny; because with various wound
Life to expel and the salvation whence
He fell he strives: and therefore says that Christ
115 Came suddenly to earth,[2] but was not made,
By any compact, partner of the flesh;
But Spirit-form, and body feigned beneath
A shape imaginary, seeks to mock
Men with a semblance that what is not is.
120 Does this, then, become God, to sport with men
By darkness led? to act an impious lie?
Or falsely call Himself a man? He walks,
Is carried, clothed, takes due rest, handled is,
Suffers, is hung and buried: man's are all
125 Deeds which, in holy body conversant,
But sent by God the Father, who hath all
Created, He did perfect properly,
Reclaiming not another's but His own;
Discernible to peoples who of old
130 Were hoping for Him by His very work,
And through the prophets' voice to the round world[3]
Best known: and now they seek an unknown Lord,
Wandering in death's threshold manifest,
And leave behind the known. False is their faith,
135 False is their God, deceptive their reward,
False is their resurrection, death's defeat
False, vain their martyrdoms, and e'en Christ's name
An empty sound: whom, teaching that He came
Like magic mist, they (quite demented) own
140 To be the actor of a lie, and make

[1] *i.e.* for which reason.

[2] *i.e.*, as Marcion is stated by some to have taught, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; founding his statement upon a perverted reading of Luke iii. 1. It will be remembered that Marcion only used St. Luke's Gospel, and that in a mutilated and corrupted form.

[3] Orbi.

His passion bootless, and the populace[1]
(A feigned one!) without crime! Is God *thus* true?
Are *such* the honours rendered to the Lord?
Ah! wretched men! gratuitously lost
145 In death ungrateful! Who, by blind guide led,
Have headlong rushed into the ditch![2] and as
In dreams the fancied rich man in his store
Of treasure doth exult, and with his hands
Grasps it, the sport of empty hope, so ye,
150 Deceived, are hoping for a shadow vain
Of guerdon!
Ah! ye silent laughingstocks,
Or doomed prey, of the dragon, do ye hope,
Stern men, for death in room of gentle peace?[3]
Dare ye blame GOD, who hath created works
155 So great? in whose earth, 'mid profuse displays
Of His exceeding parent-care, His gifts
(Unmindful of Himself!) ye largely praise,
Rushing to ruin! do ye reprobate—
Approving of the works—the Maker's self,
160 The world's[4] Artificer, whose work withal
Ye are yourselves? Who gave those little selves
Great honours; sowed your crops; made all the brutes[5]
Your subjects; makes the seasons of the year
Fruitful with stated months; grants sweetnesses,
165 Drinks various, rich odours, jocund flowers,
And the groves' grateful bowers; to growing herbs
Grants wondrous juices; founts and streams dispreads
With sweet waves, and illumes with stars the sky
And the whole orb: the infinite sole LORD,

[1] *i.e.* of the Jews.

[2] "In fossa," *i.e.*, as Fabricius (quoted in Migne's ed.) explains it, "in *de*fossa." It is the past part. of *fodio*.

[3] If this line be correct,—"Speratis pro pace truces homicidia blanda," —though I cannot see the propriety of the "truces" in it, it seems to mean, "Do ye hope or expect that the master you are serving will, instead of the gentle peace he promises you, prove a murderer and lead you to death? No, you do not expect it; but so it is."

[4] Mundi.

[5] Animalia.

170 Both JUST and GOOD; known by His work; to none
By aspect known; whom nations, flourishing
In wealth, but foolish, wrapped in error's shroud,
(Albeit 'tis beneath an alien name
They praise Him, yet) their Maker knowing, dread
175 To blame: nor e'en one [1]—save you, hell's new gate!—
Thankless, ye choose to speak ill of your Lord!
These cruel deadly gifts the Renegade
Terrible has bestowed, through Marcion—thanks
To Cerdo's mastership—on you; nor comes
180 The thought into your mind that, from Christ's name
Seducèd, Marcion's name has carried you
To lowest depths.[2] Say of His many acts
What one displeases you? or what hath God
Done which is not to be extolled with praise?
185 Is it that He permits you, all too long,
(Unworthy of His patience large,) to see
Sweet light? you, who read truths,[3] and, docking them,
Teach these your falsehoods, and approve as past
Things which are yet to be?[4] What hinders, else,
190 That *we* believe *your* God incredible?[5]

[1] The sentence breaks off abruptly, and the verb which should apparently have gone with "e'en one" is joined to the "ye" in the next line.

[2] The Latin is:

"Nec venit in mentem quod vos, a nomine Christi
Seductos, ad Marcionis tulit infima nomen."

The rendering in my text, I admit, involves an exceedingly harsh construction of the Latin, but I see not how it is to be avoided; unless either (1) we take *nomen* absolutely, and "ad Marcionis infima" together, and translate, "A name has carried you to Marcion's lowest depths;" in which case the question arises, What name is meant? can it be the name "Electi?" Or else (2) we take "tulit" as referring to the "terrible renegade," *i.e.* the arch-fiend, and "infima" as in apposition with "ad Marcionis nomen," and translate, "He has carried you to the name of Marcion—deepest degradation."

[3] *i.e.* the Gospels and other parts of Holy Scripture.

[4] *i.e.* I take it, the resurrection. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

[5] Whether this be the sense (*i.e.* "either tell us what it is which displeases you in *our* God, whether it be His too great patience in bearing

Nor marvel is't if, practised as he[1] is,
He captived you unarmed, persuading you
There are two Fathers (being damned by One),
And all, whom he had erst seduced, are gods;
195 And after that dispread a pest, which ran
With multiplying wound, and cureless crime,
To many. Men unworthy to be named,
Full of all magic's madness, he induced
To call themselves "Virtue Supreme;" and feign
200 (With harlot comrade) fresh impiety;
To roam, to fly.[2] He is the insane god
Of Valentine, and to his Æonage
Assigned heavens thirty, and Profundity
Their sire.[3] He taught two baptisms, and led
205 The body through the flame. That there are gods
So many as the year hath days, he bade
A Basilides to believe, and worlds
As many. Marcus, shrewdly arguing
Through numbers, taught to violate chaste form
210 'Mid magic's arts; taught, too, that the Lord's cup

with you, or what; or else tell us what is to hinder *us* from believing *your* God to be an *incredible* being") of this passage, I will not venture to determine. The last line in the edd. previous to Oehler's ran: "Aut incredibile quid differt credere vestrum?" Oehler reads "incredibil*em*" (sc. Deum), which I have followed; but he suggests, "Aut incredibil*em qui* differt *cædere* vestrum?" Which may mean "or else" —*i.e.* if it were not for His "too great patience"—"why"—"quî"— "does He delay to smite your incredible god?" and thus challenge a contest and prove His own superiority.

[1] *i.e.* the "terrible renegade."

[2] The reference here is to Simon Magus; for a brief account of whom, and of the other heretics in this list, down to Hebion inclusive, the reader is referred to the *Adv. omn. Hær.* above. The words "to roam, to fly," refer to the alleged wanderings of Simon with his paramour Helen, and his reported attempt (at Rome, in the presence of St. Peter) to fly. The tale is doubtful.

[3] The Latin runs thus:

"Et ævo
Triginta tribuit cælos, patremque Profundum."

But there seems a confusion between Valentine and his æons and Basilides and his heavens. See the *Adv. omn. Hær.* above.

Is an oblation, and by prayers is turned
To blood. His[1] suasion prompted Hebion
To teach that Christ was born from human seed;
He taught, too, circumcision, and that room
215 Is still left for the Law, and, though Law's founts
Are lost,[2] its elements must be resumed.
Unwilling am I to protract in words
His last atrocity, or to tell all
The causes, or the names at length. Enough
220 It is to note his many cruelties
Briefly, and the unmentionable men,
The dragon's organs fell, through whom he now,
Speaking so much profaneness, ever toils
To blame the Maker of the world.[3] But come;
225 Recall your foot from savage Bandit's cave,
While space is granted, and to wretched men
God, patient in perennial parent-love,
Condones all deeds through error done! Believe
Truly in the true Sire, who built the orb;
230 Who, on behalf of men incapable
To bear the law, sunk in sin's whirlpool, sent
The true Lord to repair the ruin wrought,
And bring them the salvation promisèd
Of old through seers. He who the mandates gave
235 Remits sins too. Somewhat, deservèdly,
Doth He exact, because He formerly
Entrusted somewhat; or else bounteously,
As Lord, condones as it were debts to slaves:
Finally, peoples shut up 'neath the curse,
240 And meriting the penalty, Himself
Deleting the indictment, bids be washed!

[1] *i.e.* the Evil One's, as before.
[2] *i.e.* probably Jerusalem and the temple there.
[3] Mundi.

PART II.

Of the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The *whole* man, then, believes; the *whole* is washed;
Abstains from sin, or truly suffers wounds
For Christ's name's sake: he rises a true[1] man,
245 Death, truly vanquisht, shall be mute. But not
Part of the man,—his *soul*,—her own part[2] left
Behind, will win the palm which, labouring
And wrestling in the course, combinèdly
And simultaneously with *flesh*, she earns.
250 Great crime it were for two in chains to bear
A weight, of whom the one were affluent
The other needy, and the wretched one
Be spurned, and guerdons to the happy one
Rendered. Not so the Just—fair Renderer
255 Of wages—deals, both good and just, whom we
Believe Almighty: to the thankless kind,
Full is His will of pity. Nay, whate'er
He who hath greater mortal need[3] doth need[4]
That, by advancement, to his comrade he
260 May equalled be, that will the affluent
Bestow the rather unsolicited:
So are we bidden to believe, and not
Be willing to cast blame unlawfully
On the Lord in our teaching, as if He
265 Were one to raise the *soul*, as having met
With ruin, and to set her free from death,
So that the granted faculty of life
Upon the ground of sole desert (because

[1] Oehler's "versus" (= "changed the man rises") is set aside for Migne's "verus." Indeed it is probably a misprint.

[2] *i.e.* her own dwelling or "quarters,"—the body, to wit, if the reading "sua parte" be correct.

[3] Egestas.

[4] Eget.

She bravely acted), should abide with her;[1]
270 While she who ever shared the common lot
Of toil, the *flesh*, should to the earth be left,
The prey of a perennial death. Has, then,
The *soul* pleased God by acts of fortitude?
By no means could she Him have pleased alone
275 Without the *flesh*. Hath she borne penal bonds?[2]
The *flesh* sustained upon her limbs the bonds.
Contemned she death? But she hath left the *flesh*
Behind in death. Groaned she in pain? The *flesh*
Is slain and vanquisht by the wound. Repose
280 Seeks she? The *flesh*, spilt by the sword in dust,
Is left behind to fishes, birds, decay,
And ashes; torn she is, unhappy one!
And broken; scatterèd, she melts away.
Hath she not earned to rise? for what could she
285 Have e'er committed, lifeless and alone?
What so life-grudging[3] cause impedes, or else
Forbids, the *flesh* to take God's gifts, and live
Ever, conjoinèd with her comrade *soul*,
And see what she hath been, when formerly
290 Converted into dust?[4] After, renewed,
Bear she to God deservèd meeds of praise,
Not ignorant of herself, frail, mortal, sick.[5]
Contend ye as to what the living might[6]

[1] I have ventured to alter the "*et* viven*ti*" of Oehler und Migne into "*ut* viven*di*," which seems to improve the sense.

[2] It seems to me that these ideas should all be expressed interrogatively, and I have therefore so expressed them in my text.

[3] See 2.

[4] "Cernere quid fuerit conversa in pulvere quondam."
Whether the meaning be that, as the *soul* will be able (as it should seem) to retrace all that she has experienced since she left the body, so the *body*, when revived, will be able as it were to look back upon all that has happened to her since the soul left her,—something after the manner in which Hamlet traces the imaginary vicissitudes of Cæsar's dust,—or whether there be some great error in the Latin, I leave the reader to judge.

[5] *i.e.* apparently remembering that she *was* so *before*.

[6] Vivida virtus.

Of the great God can do; who, good alike
295 And potent, grudges life to none? Was this
Death's captive?[1] shall this perish vanquishèd,
Which the Lord hath with wondrous wisdom made,
And art? This by His virtue wonderful
Himself upraises; this our Leader's self
300 Recails, and this with His own glory clothes.
God's art and wisdom, then, our body shaped.
What can by these be made, how faileth it
To be by virtue reproduced?[2] No cause
Can holy parent-love withstand; (lest else
305 Ill's cause[3] should mightier prove than Power Supreme;)
That man even now saved by God's gift, may learn[4]
(Mortal before, now robed in light immense,
Inviolable, wholly quickened,[5] soul
And body) God, in virtue infinite,
310 In parent-love perennial, through His King
Christ, through whom opened is light's way; and now,
Standing in new light, filled now with each gift,[6]
Glad with fair fruits of living Paradise,
May praise and laud Him to eternity,[7]
315 Rich in the wealth of the celestial hall.

[1] I rather incline to read for "hæc captiva fu*it* mortis," "hæc captiva fu*at* mortis" =

"Is this
To be death's thrall?"

"This" is, of course, the flesh.

[2] For "Quod *cu*pit his fieri, deest hoc virtute reduci," I venture to read, "Quod *ca*pit," etc., taking "capit" as = "capax est." "By these," of course, is by wisdom and art; and "virtue" = "power."

[3] *i.e.* the Evil One. [4] *i.e.* may learn *to know.*

[5] Oehler's "visus" seems to be a mistake for "vivus," which is Migne's reading; as in the fragment "*De exsecrandis gentium diis,*" we saw (*sub fin.*) "vi*d*entem" to be a probable misprint for "vi*v*entem." If, however, it is to be retained, it must mean "appearing" (*i.e.* in presence of God) "wholly," in body as well as soul.

[6] *i.e.* the double gift of a saved soul and a saved body.

[7] In æternum.

BOOK II.

OF THE HARMONY OF THE OLD AND NEW LAWS.[1]

After the faith was broken by the dint
Of the foe's breathing renegades,[2] and swoln
With wiles the hidden pest[3] emerged; with lies
Self-prompted, scornful of the Deity
5 That underlies the sense, he did his plagues
Concoct: skilled in guile's path, he mixed his own
Words impious with the sayings of the saints,
And on the good seed sowed his wretched tares,
Thence willing that foul ruin's every cause
10 Should grow combined; to wit, that with more speed
His own iniquitous deeds he may assign
To God clandestinely, and may impale
On penalties such as his suasion led;
False with true veiling, turning rough with smooth,
15 And, (masking his spear's point with rosy wreaths,)
Slaying the unwary unforeseen with death
Supreme. His supreme wickedness is this:
That men, to such a depth of madness sunk!
Off-broken boughs![4] should into parts divide
20 The endlessly-dread Deity; Christ's deeds
Sublime should follow with false praise, and blame

[1] I have so frequently had to construct my own text (by altering the reading or the punctuation of the Latin) in this book, that, for brevity's sake, I must ask the reader to be content with this statement once for all, and not expect each case to be separately noted.

[2] The "foe," as before, is Satan; his "breathing instruments" are the men whom he uses (cf. Shakspere's "*no breather*" = no man, in the dialogue between Orlando and Jacques, *As you Like it*, act iii. sc. 2); and they are called "renegades," like the Evil One himself, because they have deserted from their allegiance to God in Christ.

[3] Heresy.

[4] Cf. John xv. 2, 4, 5, 6; Rom. xi. 17–20. The writer simply calls them "abruptos homines;" and he seems to mean *excommunicated*, like Marcion.

The former acts,[1] God's countless miracles,
Ne'er seen before, nor heard, nor in a heart
Conceived;[2] and should so rashly frame in words
25 The impermissible impiety
Of wishing by "wide dissimilitude
Of sense" to prove that the two Testaments
Sound adverse each to other, and the Lord's
Oppose the prophets' words; of drawing down
30 All the Law's cause to infamy; and eke
Of reprobating holy fathers' life
Of old, whom into friendship, and to share
His gifts, God chose. Without beginning, one
Is, for its lesser part, accepted.[3] Though
35 Of one are four, of four one,[4] yet to them
One part is pleasing, three they (in a word)
Reprobate: and they seize, in many ways,
On Paul as their own author; yet was he
Urged by a frenzied impulse of his own
40 To his last words:[5] all whatsoe'er he spake
Of the old covenant[6] seems hard to them,

[1] *i.e.* those recorded in the Old Testament.

[2] I have followed Migne's suggestion here, and transposed one line of the original. The reference seems to be to Isa. lxiv. 4, quoted in 1 Cor. ii. 9, where the Greek differs somewhat remarkably from the LXX.

[3] Unless some line has dropped out here, the construction, harsh enough in my English, is yet harsher in the Latin. "Accipitur" has no subject of any kind, and one can only guess from what has gone before, and what follows, that it must mean "*one Testament.*"

[4] Harsh still. It must refer to the four Gospels—the "coat without seam"—in their quadrate unity; Marcion receiving but one—St. Luke's—and that without St. Luke's name, and also in a mutilated and interpolated form.

[5] This seems to be the sense. The allusion is to the fact that Marcion and his sect accepted but *ten* of St. Paul's epistles: leaving out entirely those to Timothy and Titus, and *all* the other books, except his one Gospel.

[6] It seems to me that the reference here must evidently be to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which treats specially of the old covenant. If so, we have some indication as to the authorship, if not the date, of the book; for Tertullian himself, though he frequently cites the epistle, appears to hesitate (to say the least) as to ascribing it to St. Paul.

Because, deservedly, "made gross in heart."[1]
Weight apostolic, grace of beaming word,
Dazzles their mind, nor can they possibly
45 Discern the Spirit's drift. Dull as they are,
Seek they congenial animals!
But ye
Who have not yet, (false deity your guide,
Reprobate in your very mind,[2]) to death's
Inmost caves penetrated, learn there flows
50 A stream perennial from its fount, which feeds
A tree, (twice sixfold are the fruits, its grace!)
And into earth and to the orb's four winds
Goes out: into so many parts doth flow
The fount's one hue and savour.[3] Thus, withal,
55 From apostolic word descends the church,
Out of Christ's womb, with glory of His Sire
All filled, to wash off filth, and vivify
Dead fates.[4] The Gospel, four in number, one
In its diffusion 'mid the Gentiles, this,
60 By faith elect accepted, Paul hands down
(Excellent doctor!) pure, without a crime;
And from it he forbade Galatian saints
To turn aside withal; whom "brethren false,"
(Urging them on to circumcise themselves,
65 And follow "elements," leaving behind
Their novel "freedom,") to "a shadow old
Of things to be" were teaching to be slaves.
These were the causes which Paul had to write
To the Galatians: not that they took out

[1] Comp. Isa. vi. 9, 10, with Acts xxviii. 17–29.

[2] The reference seems to be to Rom. i. 28; comp., too, Tit. i. 15, 16.

[3] The reference is to Gen. ii. 9–14.

[4] Fata mortua. This extraordinary expression appears to mean "dead *men;*" men who, through Adam, are *fated*, so to speak, to die, and are under the sad *fate* of being "*dead* in trespasses and sins." See Eph. ii. 1. As far as *quantity* is concerned, it might as well be "*facta* mortua," "dead *works*," such as we read of in Heb. vi. 1, ix. 14. It is true *these* works cannot strictly be said to be ever *vivified;* but a very similar inaccuracy seems to be committed by our author lower down in this same book.

70 One small part of the Gospel, and held that
For the whole bulk, leaving the greater part
Behind. And hence 'tis no words of a book,
But Christ Himself, Christ sent into the orb,
Who is the gospel, if ye will discern;
75 Who from the Father came, sole Carrier
Of tidings good; whose glory vast completes
The early testimonies; by His work
Showing how great the orb's Creator is:
Whose deeds, conjoined at the same time with words,
80 Those faithful ones, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Recorded unalloyed (not speaking words
External), sanctioned by God's Spirit, 'neath
So great a Master's eye!
This paschal Lamb
Is hung, a victim, on the tree: Him Paul,
85 Writing decrees to Corinth, with his torch,[1]
Hands down as slain, the future life and God
Promisèd to the fathers, whom before
He had attracted.
See what virtue, see
What power, the paschal image[2] has; ye thus
90 Will able be to see what power there is
In the true Passover.
Lest well-earned love
Should tempt the faithful sire and seer,[3] to whom
His pledge and heir[4] was dear, whom God by chance[5]
Had given him, to offer him to God

[1] I have followed Oehler's "face" for the common "phase;" but what the meaning is I will not venture to decide. It may probably mean one of two things: (*a*) that Paul wrote *by torchlight;* (*b*) that the *light* which Paul holds forth in his life and writings, is a *torch* to show the Corinthians and others Christ.

[2] *i.e.* the legal passover, "image" or type of "the true Passover," Christ. See 1 Cor. v. 6–9.

[3] Abraham. See Gen. xxii. 1–19.

[4] Isaac, a pledge to Abraham of all God's other promises.

[5] Forte. I suppose this means out of the ordinary course of nature; but it is a strange word to use.

95 (A mighty execution!), there is shown
To him a lamb entangled by the head
In thorns; a holy victim—holy blood
For blood—to God. From whose piacular death,
That to the wasted race[1] it might be sign
100 And pledge of safety, signèd are with blood
Their posts and thresholds many:[2]—aid immense!—
The flesh (a witness credible) is given
For food. The Jordan crossed, the land possessed,
Joshua by law kept passover with joy,
105 And immolates a lamb; and the great kings
And holy prophets that were after him,
Not ignorant of the good promises
Of sure salvation; full of godly fear
The great Law to transgress, (that mass of types
110 In image of the Supreme Virtue once
To come,) did celebrate in order due
The mirrorly-inspected passover.[3]

[1] Israel, wasted by the severities of their Egyptian captivity.

[2] "Mu*lta*;" but "mu*ta*" = "mute" has been suggested, and is not inapt.

[3] I have given what appears to be a possible sense for these almost unintelligible lines. They run as follows in Oehler:

"Et reliqui magni reges sanctique prophetæ,
Non ignorantes certæ promissa salutis,
Ingentemque metu pleni transcendere legem,
Venturam summæ virtutis imagine molem,
Inspectam e speculo celebrarunt ordine pascham."

I rather incline to alter them somehow thus:

"Ingentemque metu plen*is* transcendere legem,
Ventur*um in* summæ virtutis imagine,—*so*lem
Inspect*um* e speculo,—celebrarunt ordine pascham;"

connecting these three lines with "non ignorantes," and rendering:

"Not ignorant of the good promises
Of sure salvation; and that One would come,
For such as fillèd are with godly fear
The law to overstep, a mighty One,
In Highest Virtue's image,—the Sun seen
In mirror:—did in order celebrate
The passover."

That is, in brief, they all, in celebrating the type, looked forward to the Antitype to come.

In short, if thou recur with rapid mind
To times primordial, thou wilt find results
115 Too fatal following impious words. That man
Easily credulous, alas! and stripped
Of life's own covering, might covered be
With skins, a lamb is hung: the wound slays sins,
Or death by blood effaces, or enshrouds
120 Or cherishes the naked with its fleece.
Is sheep's blood of more worth than human blood,
That, offered up for sins, it should quench wrath?
Or is a lamb (as if he were more dear!)
Of more worth than much people's? aid immense!
125 As safeguard of so great salvation, could
A lamb, if offered, have been price enough
For the redeemed? Nay: but Almighty God,
The heaven's and earth's Creator, infinite,[1]
Living, and perfect, and perennially
130 Dwelling in light, is not appeased by these,
Nor joys in cattle's blood. Slain be all flocks;
Be every herd upburnèd into smoke;
That expiatively 't may pardon win
Of but one sin: in vain at so vile price
135 Will the stained figure of the Lord—foul flesh—
Prepare, if wise, such honours:[2] but the hope
And faith to mortals promisèd of old—
Great Reason's counterpart[3]—hath wrought to bring
These boons premeditated and prepared
140 Erst by the Father's passing parent-love;
That Christ should come to earth, and be a man!
Whom when John saw, baptism's first opener, John,
Comrade of seers, apostle great, and sent
As sure forerunner, witness faithful; John,

[1] Immensus.

[2] This, again, seems to be the meaning, unless the passage (which is not improbable) be corrupt. The flesh, "foul" now with sin, is called the "stained image of the Lord," as having been originally in His image, but being now stained by guilt.

[3] Faith is called so, as being the reflection of divine reason.

145 August in life, and marked with praise sublime,[1]
He shows, to such as sought of olden time
God's very Paschal Lamb, that He is come
At last, the expiation of misdeed,
To undo many's sins by His own blood,
150 In place of reprobates the Proven One,
In place of vile the dear; in body, man;
And, in life, God: that He, as the slain Lamb,
Might us accept,[2] and for us might outpour
Himself. Thus hath it pleased the Lord to spoil
155 Proud death: thus wretched man will able be
To hope salvation. This slain paschal Lamb
Paul preaches: nor does a phantasmal shape
Of the sublime Lord (one consimilar
To Isaac's silly sheep[3]) the passion bear,
160 Wherefore He is called Lamb: but 'tis because,
As wool, He these renewèd bodies clothes,
Giving to many covering, yet Himself
Never deficient. Thus does the Lord shroud
In His Sire's virtue, those whom, disarrayed
165 Of their own light, He by His death redeemed,
Virtue which ever is in Him. So, then,
The Shepherd who hath lost the sheep Himself
Re-seeks it. He, prepared to tread the strength
Of the vine, and its thorns, or to o'ercome
170 The wolf's rage, and regain the cattle lost,
And brave to snatch them out, the Lion He
In sheepskin-guise, unasked presents Himself
To the contemned[4] teeth, baffling by His garb
The robber's bloody jaws.
Thus everywhere
175 Christ seeks force-captured Adam; treads the path

[1] *i.e.* the praise of Christ Himself. See Matt. xi. 7–15, with the parallel passage, Luke vii. 24–30; comp. also John v. 33–35.

[2] *i.e.* perhaps "render acceptable."

[3] See above, 91–99.

[4] *i.e.* teeth which *He* contemned, for His people's sake: not that they are to *us* contemptible.

Himself where death wrought ruin; permeates
All the old heroes' monuments;[1] inspects
Each one; the One of whom all types were full;
Begins e'en from the womb to expel the death
180 Conceivèd simultaneously with seed
Of flesh within the bosom; purging all
Life's stages with a silent wisdom; debts
Assuming;[2] ready to cleanse all, and give
Their Maker back the many whom the one[3]
185 Had scattered. And, because one direful man
Down-sunk in pit iniquitous did fall,
By dragon-subdued virgin's[4] suasion led;
Because he pleased her wittingly;[5] because
He left his heavenly covering[6] behind;
190 Because the "tree" their nakedness did prove;
Because dark death coerced them: in like wise
Out of the selfsame mass[7] re-made returns,
Renewèd now,—the flower of flesh, and host
Of peace,—a flesh from espoused virgin born,
195 Not of man's seed; conjoinèd to its own
Artificer; without the debt of death.
These mandates of the Father through bright stars
An angel carries down, that angel-fame
The tidings may accredit; telling how
200 "A virgin's debts a virgin, flesh's flesh,
Should pay." Thus introduced, the Giant-Babe,
The Elder-Boy, the Stripling-Man, pursues
Death's trail. Thereafter, when completed was

[1] *i.e.* perhaps permeating, by the influence of His death, the tombs of all the old saints.

[2] *i.e.* undertaking our debts in our stead.

[3] Adam. See Rom. v. *passim.*

[4] It is an idea of the genuine Tertullian, apparently, that Eve was a "virgin" all the time she was with Adam in Paradise. A similar idea appears in the "Genesis" above.

[5] Consilio. Comp. 1 Tim. ii. 14, "Adam was *not deceived.*"

[6] Called "life's own covering" (*i.e.* apparently his innocence) in 117, above.

[7] Or, "ore."

The ripe age of man's strength, when man is wont
205 To see the lives that were his fellows drop
By slow degrees away, and to be changed
In mien to wrinkles foul and limbs inert,
While blood forsakes his veins, his course he stayed,
And suffered not his fleshly garb to age.
210 Upon what day or in what place did fall
Most famous Adam, or outstretched his hand
Rashly to touch the tree, on that same day,
Returning as the years revolve, within
The stadium of the "tree" the brave Athlete,
215 'Countering, outstretched His hands, and, penalty
For praise pursuing,[1] quite did vanquish death,
Because He left death of His own accord
Behind, disrobing Him of fleshly slough,
And of death's dues; and to the "tree" affixed
220 The serpent's spoil—"the world's[2] prince" vanquisht quite!—
Grand trophy of the renegades: for sign
Whereof had Moses hung the snake, that all,
Who had by many serpents stricken been,
Might gaze upon the dragon's self, and see
225 Him vanquisht and transfixt.
When, afterwards,
He reached the infernal region's secret waves,
And, as a victor, by the light which aye
Attended Him, revealed His captive thrall,
And by His virtue thoroughly fulfilled
230 The Father's bidding, He Himself re-took
The body which, spontaneous, He had left.
This was the cause of death: this same was made
Salvation's path: a messenger of guile
The former was; the latter messenger
235 Of peace: a spouse her man[3] did slay; a spouse

[1] Comp. Heb. xii. 2, "Who, for the joy that was set before Him"—ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς.
[2] Mundi. See John xiv. 30.
[3] Virum.

Did bear a lion :[1] hurtful to her man [2]
A virgin [3] proved; a man [4] from virgin born
Proved victor: for a type whereof, while sleep
His [5] body wrapped, out of his side is ta'en
240 A woman,[6] who is her lord's [7] rib; whom he,
Awaking, called "flesh from his flesh, and bones
From his own bones;" with a presaging mind
Speaking. Faith wondrous! Paul, deservèdly,
(Most certain author!) teaches Christ to be
245 "The Second Adam from the heavens." [8] Truth,
Using her own examples, doth refulge;
Nor covets out of alien source to show
Her paces keen :[9] this is a pauper's work,
Needy of virtue of his own! Great Paul
250 These mysteries—taught to him—did teach; to wit,
Discerning that in Christ thy glory is,
O Church! from His side, hanging on high "tree,"
His lifeless body's "blood and humour" flowed.
The blood the woman [10] was; the waters were
255 The new gifts of the font :[11] this is the Church,
True mother of a living people; flesh
New from Christ's flesh, and from His bones a bone.
A spot there is called Golgotha,—of old
The fathers' earlier tongue thus called its name,—
260 "The skull-pan of a head :" here is earth's midst;
Here victory's sign; here, have our elders taught,
There was a great head [12] found; here the first man,

[1] "The Lion of the tribe of Juda." Rev. v. 5.

[2] Viro. This use of "*man*" may be justified, to say nothing of other arguments, from Jer. xliv. 19, where "*our men*" seems plainly = "our husbands." See marg.

[3] Virgo: a play on the word in connection with the "viro" and what follows.

[4] Vir.

[5] *i.e.* Adam's. The constructions, as will be seen, are oddly confused throughout, and I rather suspect some transposition of lines.

[6] Mulier. [7] Mariti.

[8] See 1 Cor. xv. 22 sqq., especially 45, 47. [9] Acres gressus.

[10] Femina. [11] Lavacri. [12] "Os;" lit., "face" or "mouth."

We have been taught, was buried; here the Christ
Suffers; with sacred blood the earth[1] grows moist,
265 That the old Adam's dust may able be,
Commingled with Christ's blood, to be upraised
By dripping water's virtue. The "one ewe"
This is, which, during Sabbath-hours, alive
The Shepherd did resolve that He would draw
270 Out of th' infernal pit. This was the cause
Why, on the Sabbaths, He was wont to cure
The prematurely dead limbs of all flesh;
Or perfected for sight the eyes of him
Blind from his birth—eyes which He had not erst
275 Given; or, in presence of the multitude,
Called, during Sabbath-hours, one wholly dead
To life, e'en from the sepulchre.[2] Himself
The new man's Maker, the Repairer good
Of th' old, supplying what did lack, or else
280 Restoring what was lost. About to do—
When dawns "the holy day"—these works, for such
As hope in Him, in plenitude, (to keep
His plighted word,) He taught men thus His power
To do them.
What? If flesh dies, and no hope
285 Is given of salvation, say, what grounds
Christ had to feign Himself a man, and heal
Men, or have care for flesh? If He recalls[3]
Some few, why shall He not withal recall
All? Can corruption's power liquefy
290 The body and undo it, and shall not
The virtue of the Lord be powerful
The undone to recall?
They, who believe
Their bodies are *not* loosed from death, do not
Believe the Lord, who wills to raise His own

[1] Terra.

[2] This would seem to refer to Lazarus; but it seems to be an assumption that his raising took place on a Sabbath.

[3] *i.e.* to life.

295 Works sunken; or else say they that the Good
Wills not, and that the Potent hath not power,—
Ignorant from how great a crime they suck
Their milk, in daring to set things infirm
Above the Strong.[1] In the grain lurks the tree;
300 And if this[2] rot not, buried in the earth,
It yields not tree-graced fruits.[3] Soon bound will be
The liquid waters: 'neath the whistling cold
They will become, and ever will be, stones,
Unless a mighty power, by leading on
305 Soft-breathing warmth, undo them. The great bunch
Lurks in the tendril's slender body: if
Thou seek it, it is not; when God doth will,
'Tis seen to be. On trees their leaves, on thorns
The rose, the seeds on plains, are dead and fail,
310 And rise again, new living. For man's use
These things doth God before his eyes recall
And form anew—man's, for whose sake at first[4]
The wealthy One made all things bounteously.
All naked fall; with its own body each
315 He clothes. Why man alone, on whom He showered
Such honours, should He not recall in all
His first perfection[5] to Himself? man, whom
He set o'er all?
Flesh, then, and blood are said
To be not worthy of God's realm, as if
320 Paul spake of flesh *materially*. He
Indeed taught mighty truths; but hearts inane

[1] I have ventured to alter the "*M*orti" of the edd. into "*F*orti;" and "causas" (as we have seen) seems, in this late Latin, nearly = "res."

[2] *i.e.* the grain.

[3] This may seem an unusual expression, as it is more common to regard the fruit as gracing the tree, than the tree the fruit. But, in point of fact, the tree, with its graceful form and foliage, may be said to give a grace to the fruit; and so our author puts it here: "decoratos arbore fructus."

[4] I read "prim*um*" here for "prim*us*."

[5] "Tantum" = "tantum quantum primo fuerat," *i.e.* with a body as well as a spirit.

Think he used carnal speech: for *pristine deeds*
He meant beneath the name of "flesh and blood;"
Remembering, heavenly home-slave that he is,
His heavenly Master's words; who gave the name
Of His own honour to men born from Him
Through water, and from His own Spirit poured
A pledge;[1] that, by whose virtue men had been
Redeemed, His name of honour they withal
Might, when renewed, receive. Because, then, He
Refused, on the old score, the heavenly realm
To peoples not yet from His fount re-born,
Still with their ancient sordid raiment clad—
These are "the dues of death"—saying that that
Which human is must needs be born again,—
"What hath been born of flesh is flesh; and what
From Spirit, life;"[2] and that the body, washed,
Changing with glory its old root's new seeds,[3]
Is no more called "from flesh:" Paul follows this;
Thus did he speak of "flesh." In fine, he said[4]
This frail garb with a robe must be o'erclad,
This mortal form be wholly coverèd;
Not that another body must be given,
But that the former one, dismantled,[5] must
Be with God's kingdom wholly on all sides
Surrounded: "In the moment of a glance,"
He says, "it shall be changed:" as, on the blade,
Dispreads the red corn's[6] face, and changes 'neath
The sun's glare its own hue; so the same flesh,
From "the effulgent glory"[7] borrowing,

[1] Pignus: "the *promise* of the Father" (Acts i. 4); "the *earnest* of the Spirit" (2 Cor. i. 22; v. 5). See, too, Eph. i. 13, 14; Rom. viii. 23.

[2] The reference is to John iii. 6, but it is not quite correctly given.

[3] See note on 258, above. [4] See 2 Cor. v. 1 sqq.

[5] I read "inermum"—a very rare form—here for "inermem." But there seems a confusion in the text, which here, as elsewhere, is probably corrupt.

[6] "Ceræ," which seems senseless here, I have changed to "cereris."

[7] There seems to be a reference to 2 Pet. i. 17.

Shall ever joy, and, joying,[1] shall lack death;
Exclaiming that "the body's cruel foe
Is vanquisht quite; death, by the victory
Of the brave Christ, is swallowed;"[2] praises high
355 Bearing to God, unto the highest stars.

BOOK III.

OF THE HARMONY OF THE FATHERS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Now hath the mother, formerly surnamed
Barren, giv'n birth:[3] now a new people, born
From the free woman,[4] joys: (the slave expelled,
Deservedly, with her proud progeny;
5 Who also leaves ungratefully behind
The waters of the living fount,[5] and drinks—
Errant on heated plains—'neath glowing star:[6])
Now can the Gentiles as their parent claim
Abraham; who, the Lord's voice following,
10 Like him, have all things left,[7] life's pilgrimage
To enter. "Be glad, barren one;" conceive
The promised people; "break thou out, and cry,"
Who with no progeny wert blest; of whom
Spake, through the seers, the Spirit of old time:
15 She hath borne, out of many nations, one;
With whose beginning are her pious limbs
Ever in labour.
Hers "just Abel"[8] was,

[1] Here again I have altered the punctuation by a very simple change.
[2] See 1 Cor. xv. 54; Isa. xxv. 8 (where the LXX. have a strange reading).
[3] Isa. liv. 1; Gal. iv. 27. [4] Gal. iv. 19-31.
[5] The Jewish people leaving Christ, "the fountain of living waters" (Jer. ii. 13; John vii. 37-39), is compared to Hagar leaving the well, which was, we may well believe, close to Abraham's tent.
[6] Et tepidis errans ardenti sidere potat. See Gen. xxi. 12-20.
[7] See Matt. xix. 27; Mark x. 28; Luke xviii. 28.
[8] See Matt. xxiii. 35.

A pastor and a cattle-master he;
Whom violence of brother's right hand slew
20 Of old. Her Enoch, signal ornament,
Limb from her body sprung, by counsel strove
To recall peoples gone astray from God
And following misdeed, (while raves on earth
The horde of robber-renegades,[1]) to flee
25 The giants' sacrilegious cruel race;
Faithful in all himself. With groaning deep[2]
Did he please God, and by deservèd toil
Translated[3] is reservèd as a pledge,
With honour high. Perfect in praise, and found
30 Faultless, and just—God witnessing[4] the fact—
In an adulterous people, Noah (he
Who in twice fifty years[5] the ark did weave)
By deeds and voice the coming ruin told.
Favour he won, snatcht out of so great waves
35 Of death, and, with his progeny, preserved.
Then, in the generation[6] following,
Is Abraham, whose sons ye do deny
Yourselves to be; who first—race, country, sire,
All left behind—at suasion of God's voice
40 Withdrew to realms extern: such honours he
At God's sublime hand worthily deserved
As to be father to believing tribes
And peoples. Jacob with the patriarchs
(Himself their patriarch) through all his own
45 Life's space the gladdest times of Christ foresang
By words, act, virtue, toil.
Him follows—free
From foul youth's stain—Joseph, by slander feigned,
Doomed to hard penalty and gaol: his groans

[1] *i.e.* apparently the "giants;" see Gen. vi. 4; but there is no mention of them in Enoch's time (Migne).

[2] *i.e.* over the general sinfulness.

[3] I suggest "translat*us*" for "translat*um*" here

[4] See Gen. vii. 1.

[5] Loosely; 120 years is the number in Gen. vi. 3.

[6] Gente.

Glory succeeds, and the realm's second crown,
50 And in dearth's time large power of furnishing
Bread: so appropriate a type of Christ,
So lightsome type of Light, is manifest
To all whose mind hath eyes, that they may see
In a face-mirror[1] their sure hope.
Himself
55 The patriarch JUDAH, see; the origin
Of royal line,[2] whence leaders rose, nor kings
Failed ever from his seed, until the Power
To come, by Gentiles looked for, promised long,
Came.
MOSES, leader of the People, (he
60 Who, spurning briefly-blooming riches, left
The royal thresholds,) rather chose to bear
His people's toils, afflicted, with bowed neck,
By no threats daunted, than to gain himself
Enjoyments, and of many penalties
65 Remission: admirable for such faith
And love, he, with God's virtue armed, achieved
Great exploits: smote the nation through with plagues;
And left their land behind, and their hard king
Confounds, and leads the People back; trod waves;
70 Sunk the foes down in waters; through a "tree"[3]
Made ever-bitter waters sweet; spake much
(Manifestly to the People) with the Christ,[4]

[1] Speculo vultus. The two words seem to me to go together, and, unless the second be indeed redundant, to mean perhaps a small *hand-mirror*, which affords more facilities for minute examination of the face than a larger fixed one.

[2] "Sortis;" lit. "lot," here = "the line or family chosen *by lot*." Compare the similar derivation of "clergy."

[3] Lignum.

[4] I have ventured to substitute "Christo" for "Christi;" and thus, for

"Cum Christ*i* populo manifeste multa locutus,"

read,

"Cum Christo (populo manifeste) multa locutus."

The reference is to the fact, on which such special stress is laid, of the Lord's "speaking to Moses *face to face, as a man speaketh with his*

From whose face light and brilliance in his own
Reflected shone; dashed on the ground the law
75 Accepted through some few,[1]—implicit type,
And sure, of his own toils!—smote through the rock;
And, being bidden, shed forth streams; and stretched
His hands that, by a sign,[2] he vanquish might
The foe: *of* Christ all *severally*, all[3]
80 *Combined through* Christ, do speak. Great and approved,
He[4] rests with praise and peace.
But Joshua,
The son of Nun, erst called Oshea—this man
The Holy Spirit to Himself did join
As partner in His name:[5] hence did he cleave
85 The flood; constrained the People to pass o'er;
Freely distributed the land—the prize

friend." See especially Num. xii. 5–8, Deut. xxxiv. 9–12, with Deut. xviii. 17–19, Acts iii. 22, 23, vii. 37.

[1] The Latin in Oehler and Migne is thus:

"Acceptam legem per paucos fudit in orbem;"

and the reference seems to me to be to Ex. xxxii. 15–20, though the use of "orbem" for "ground" is perhaps strange; but "humum" would have been against the metre, if that argument be of any weight in the case of a writer so prolific of false quantities. Possibly the lines may mean that "he diffused through some few"—*i.e.* through the Jews, "few" as compared with the total inhabitants of the orb—"the Law which he had received;" but then the following line seems rather to favour the former view, because the tables of the Law—called briefly "the Law"—broken by Moses so soon after he had received them, were typical of the inefficacy of all Moses' own toils, which, after all, ended in disappointment, as he was forbidden, on account of a sin committed in the very last of the forty years, to lead the People into "the land," as he had fondly hoped to do. Only I suspect some error in "per paucos;" unless it be lawful to supply "dies," and take it to mean "received during but few days," *i.e.* "*within* few days," "only a few days before," and "accepted" or "kept" by the People "during but a few days." Would it be lawful to conjecture "perpaucis" as one word, with "ante diebus" to be understood?

[2] *i.e.* the sign of the cross. See Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xviii. *sub fin.*; also *adv. Jud.* c. x. *med.*

[3] *i.e.* all the acts and the experiences of Moses. [4] Moses.

[5] See Ex. xxiii. 20–23; and comp. *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xvi.

Promised the fathers!—stayed both sun and moon
While vanquishing the foe; races extern
And giants' progeny outdrave; razed groves;
90 Altars and temples levelled; and with mind
Loyal[1] performed all due solemnities:
Type of Christ's name; His virtue's image.
What
Touching the People's Judges shall I say
Singly? whose virtues,[2] if unitedly
95 Recorded, fill whole volumes numerous
With space of words. But yet the order due
Of filling out the body of my words,
Demands that, out of many, I should tell
The life of few.
Of whom when GIDEON, guide
100 Of martial band, keen to attack the foe,
(Not keen to gain for his own family,
By virtue,[3] tutelary dignity,[4])
And needing to be strengthened[5] in the faith
Excited in his mind, seeks for a sign
105 Whereby he either could not, or could, wage
Victorious war; to wit, that with the dew
A fleece, exposèd for the night, should be
Moistened, and all the ground lie dry around
(By this to show that, with the world,[6] should dry[7]

[1] Legitima, *i.e.* reverent of law.
[2] *i.e.* virtuous acts.
[3] Or, "valour."
[4] The Latin runs thus:

"Acer in hostem,
Non virtute su*a* tutelam acquirere genti."

I have ventured to read "su*æ*," and connect it with "genti;" and thus have obtained what seems to me a probable sense. See Judg. viii. 22, 23.
[5] I read "firm*andus*" for "firm*atus*."
[6] Mundo.
[7] I have again ventured a correction, "coa*r*escere" for "coa*l*escere." It makes at least *some* sense out of an otherwise (to *me*) unintelligible passage, the "palm" being taken as the well-known symbol of bloom and triumph. So David in Ps. xcii. 12 (xci. 13 in LXX.), "The righteous shall *flourish* like the *palm-tree*." To "dry" here is, of course, neuter, and means to "wither."

110 The enemies' palm); and then again, the fleece
Alone remaining dry, the earth by night
Should with the selfsame[1] moisture be bedewed:
For by this sign he prostrated the heaps
Of bandits; with Christ's People 'countering them
115 Without much soldiery, with cavalry[2]
Three hundred—the Greek letter Tau, in truth,
That number is[3]—with torches armed, and horns
Of blowers with the mouth: then[4] was the *fleece*,
The people of Christ's sheep, from holy seed
120 Born (for the *earth* means nations various,
And scattered through the orb), which fleece the word
Nourishes; *night* death's image; *Tau* the sign
Of the dear cross; the *horn* the heraldings
Of life; the *torches* shining in their stand[5]
125 The glowing Spirit: and this *testing*, too,
Forsooth, an image of Christ's virtue was:[6]
To teach that death's fierce battles should not be
By trump angelic vanquishèd before
Th' indocile People be deservèdly
130 By their own fault left desolate behind,
And Gentiles, flourishing in faith, received
In praise.
Yea, Deborah, a woman far
Above all fame, appears; who, having braced
Herself for warlike toil, for country's sake,
135 Beneath the palm-tree sang how victory
Had crowned her People; thanks to whom it was
That the foes, vanquisht, turned at once their backs,

[1] I have changed "eadem"—which must agree with "nocte," and hence give a false sense; for it was not, of course, on "*the same night*," but on the next, that this second sign was given—into "eodem," to agree with "liquore," which gives a true one, as the "moisture," of course, *was* the same,—dew, namely.

[2] Equite. It appears to be used loosely for "men of war" generally.

[3] Which is taken, from its form, as a sign of the cross: see below.

[4] Refers to the "when" in 99, above.

[5] Lychno. The "*faces*" are probably the *wicks*.

[6] "Scilicet hoc testamen erat virtutis imago."

And Sisera their leader fled; whose flight
No man, nor any band, arrested: him,
140 Suddenly renegade, a woman's hand—
Jael's[1]—with wooden weapon vanquished quite,
For token of Christ's victory.
With firm faith
Jephthah appears, who a deep-wounding vow
Dared make—to promise God a grand reward
145 Of war: him[2] then, because he senselessly
Had promised what the Lord not wills, first meets
The pledge[3] dear to his heart; who suddenly
Fell by a lot unhoped by any. He,
To keep his promise, broke the sacred laws
150 Of parenthood: the shade of mighty fear
Did in his violent mind cover his vow
Of sin: as solace of his widowed life
For[4] wickedness, renown, and, for crime, praise,
He won.
Nor Samson's strength, all corporal might
155 Passing, must we forget; the Spirit's gift
Was this; the power was granted to his head.[5]
Alone he for his People, daggerless,
Armless, an ass-jaw grasping, prostrated
A thousand corpses; and no bonds could keep
160 The hero bound: but after his shorn pride
Forsook him thralled, he fell, and, by his death,—
Though vanquisht,—bought his foes back 'neath his power.
Marvellous Samuel, who first received
The precept to anoint kings, to give chrism

[1] The text as it stands is, in Oehler:
. . . "Hic Baal Christi victoria signo
Extemplo refugam devicit femina ligno;"
which I would read:
. . . "Hunc Jael, Christi victoriæ signo,
Extemplo," etc.

[2] For "*hic*" I would incline to read "*huic*."

[3] *i.e.* child.

[4] *i.e.* instead of.

[5] *i.e.* to his unshorn Nazarite locks.

And show men-Christs,[1] so acted laudably
In life's space as, e'en after his repose,
To keep prophetic rights.[2]
Psalmographist
David, great king and prophet, with a voice
Submiss was wont Christ's future suffering
To sing: which prophecy spontaneously
His thankless lawless People did perform:
Whom[3] God had promised that in time to come,
Fruit of his womb,[4] a holy progeny,
He would on his sublime throne set: the Lord's
Fixt faith did all that He had promisèd.
Corrector of an inert People rose
Emulous[5] Hezekiah; who restored
Iniquitous forgetful men the Law:[6]
All these God's mandates of old time he first
Bade men observe, who ended war by prayers,[7]
Not by steel's point: he, dying, had a grant
Of years and times of life made to his tears:
Deservèdly such honour his career
Obtained.
With zeal immense, Josiah, prince
Himself withal, in like wise acted: none
So much, before or after!—Idols he
Dethroned; destroyed unhallowed temples; burned
With fire priests on their altars; all the bones
Of prophets false updug; the altars burned,
The carcases to be consumed did serve
For fuel!
To the praise of signal faith,

[1] Viros ostendere Christos.
[2] See 1 Sam. xxviii. (in LXX. 1 Kings) 11–19.
[3] *i.e. to* whom, to *David.*
[4] "Ex utero:" a curious expression for a man; but so it is.
[5] *i.e.* emulous of David's virtues.
[6] Comp. especially 2 Chron. xxix., xxx., xxxi.
[7] Our author is quite correct in his order. A comparison of dates as given in the Scripture history shows us that his reforms preceded his war with Sennacherib.

Noble Elijah, (memorable fact!)
Was rapt;[1] who hath not tasted yet death's dues;
Since to the orb he is to come again.
His faith unbroken, then, chastening with stripes
People and frenzied king, (who did desert
The Lord's blest service,) and with bitter flames
The foes, shut up the stars; kept in the clouds
The rain; showed all collectively that God
Is; made their error patent;—for a flame,
Coming with force from heaven at his prayers,
Ate up the victim's parts, dripping with flood,
Upon the altar:[2]—often as he willed,
So often from on high rushed fire;[3] the stream
Dividing, he made pathless passable;[4]
And, in a chariot raised aloft, was borne
To paradise's hall.
Disciple his
Elisha was, succeeding to his lot:[5]
Who begged to take to him Elijah's lot[6]
In double measure; so, with forceful stripe,
The People to chastise:[7] such and so great
A love for the Lord's cause he breathed. He smote
Through Jordan; made his feet a way, and crossed
Again; raised with a twig the axe down-sunk
Beneath the stream; changed into vital meat
The deathful food; detained a second time,

[1] The "tactus" of the Latin is without sense, unless indeed it refer to his being twice "touched" by an angel. See 1 Kings (in LXX. 3 Kings) xix. 1–8. I have therefore substituted "raptus," there being no mention of the angel in the Latin.

[2] "Ar*as*" should probably be "ar*am*."

[3] See 2 Kings (in LXX. 4 Kings) i. 9–12.

[4] For "transgressas *et* avia fecit," I read "transgress*us* avia fecit," taking "transgressus" as a subst.

[5] Sortis. [6] Sortem.

[7] Our author has somewhat mistaken Elisha's mission apparently; for as there is a significant difference in the meaning of their respective names, so there is in their works: Elijah's miracles being rather miracles of judgment, it has been remarked; Elisha's, of mercy.

Double in length,[1] the rains; cleansed leprosies;[2]
Entangled foes in darkness; and when one
Offcast and dead, by bandits' slaughter slain,
His limbs, after his death, already hid
In sepulchre, did touch, he—light recalled—
Revived.
Isaiah, wealthy seer, to whom
The fount was oped,—so manifest his faith!—
Poured from his mouth God's word forth. Promised was
The Father's will, bounteous through Christ; through him
It testified before the way of life,
And was approved:[3] but him, though stainless found,
And undeserving, the mad People cut
With wooden saw in twain, and took away
With cruel death.
The holy Jeremy
Followed; whom the Eternal's Virtue bade
Be prophet to the Gentiles, and him told
The future: who, because he brooded o'er
His People's deeds illaudable, and said
(Speaking with voice presaging) that, unless
They had repented of betaking them
To deeds iniquitous against their slaves,[4]
They should be captived, bore hard bonds, shut up
In squalid gaol; and, in the miry pit,

[1] The reference is to a famine in Elisha's days, which—2 Kings (in LXX. 4 Kings) viii. i.—was to last *seven years;* whereas that for which Elijah prayed, as we learn in Jas. v. 17, lasted *three* and *six months.* But it is not said that Elisha *prayed for* that famine.

[2] We only read of *one* leprosy which Elisha cleansed—Naaman's. He *inflicted* leprosy on Gehazi, which was "to cleave to him and to his seed for ever."

[3] Prætestata vi*am* vitæ atque probata per ipsam est. I suspect we should read "vi*a*," quantity being of no importance with our author, and take "prætestata" as passive: "The way of life was testified before, and proved, through him."

[4] This seems to be the meaning, and the reference will then be to Jer. xxxiv. 8–22 (in LXX. xli. 8–22); but the punctuation both in Oehler and Migne makes nonsense, and I have therefore altered it.

240 Hunger exhausted his decaying limbs.
But, after he did prove what they to hear
Had been unwilling, and the foes did lead
The People bound in their triumphal trains,
Hardly at length his wrinkled right hand lost
245 Its chains: it is agreed that by no death
Nor slaughter was the hero ta'en away.
Faithful Ezekiel, to whom granted was
Rich grace of speech, saw sinners' secrets; wailed
His own afflictions; prayed for pardon; saw
250 The vengeance of the saints, which is to be
By slaughter; and, in Spirit wrapt, the place
Of the saints' realm, its steps and accesses,
And the salvation of the flesh, he saw.
Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, too,
255 With Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, come;
Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai,
And Zechariah who did violence
Suffer, and Malachi—angel himself!—
Are here: these are the Lord's seers; and their choir,
260 As still they sing, is heard; and equally
Their proper wreath of praise they all have earned.
How great was Daniel! What a man! What power!
Who by their own mouth did false witnesses
Bewray, and saved a soul on a false charge
265 Condemned;[1] and, before that, by mouth resolved
The king's so secret dreams; foresaw how Christ
Dissolves the limbs of kingdoms; was accused
For his Lord's sake; was made the lions' prey;
And, openly preserved[2] before all eyes,
270 Rested in peace.
His three companions, scarce
With due praise to be sung, did piously

[1] See the apocryphal "Susanna."

[2] For "servat*is*que palam cunctis in pace quievit," which the edd. give, I suggest "servat*us*que," etc., and take "palam" as governing "cunctis."

Contemn the king's iniquitous decree,
Out of so great a number: to the flames
Their bodies given were; but they preferred,
275 For the Great Name, to yield to penalties
Themselves, than to an image stretch their palms
On bended knees. Now their o'erbrilliant faith,
Now hope outshining all things, the wild fires
Hath quencht, and vanquisht the iniquitous!
280 Ezra the seer, doctor of Law, and priest
Himself (who, after full times, back did lead
The captive People), with the Spirit filled
Of memory, restored by word of mouth
All the seers' volumes, by the fires and mould[1]
285 Consumèd.
Great above all born from seed
Is John: whose praises hardly shall we skill
To tell: the washer[2] of the flesh: the Lord's
Open forerunner; washer,[2] too, of Christ,
Himself first born again from Him: the first
290 Of the new covenant, last of the old,
Was he; and for the True Way's sake he died,
The first slain victim.
See God-Christ! behold
Alike, His twelve-fold warrior-youth![3] in all
One faith, one love, one power; the flower of men;
295 Lightening the world[4] with light; comrades of Christ
And apostolic men; who, speaking truth,
Heard with their ears Salvation,[5] with their eyes
Saw It, and handled with their hand the late

[1] Ignibus et *multa* consumpta volumina vatum. *Multa* must, apparently, be an error for some word signifying "mould" or the like; unless, with the disregard of construction and quantity observable in this author, it be an *acc. pl.* to agree with *volumina*, so that we must take "*omnia multa volumina*" together, which would alter the whole construction of the context.

[2] Ablutor. [3] Juventus. [4] Mundo.

[5] Salutem = Christum. So Simeon, "Mine eyes have seen *Thy salvation*," where the Greek word should be noted and compared with its usage in the LXX., especially in the Psalms. See Luke ii. 30.

From death recovered body,[1] and partook
300 As fellow-guests of food therewith, as they
Themselves bear witness.
Him did PAUL as well
(Forechosen apostle, and in due time sent),
When rapt into the heavens,[2] behold: and sent
By Him, he, with his comrade BARNABAS,
305 And with the earlier associates
Joined in one league together, everywhere
Among the Gentiles hands the doctrine down
That Christ is Head, whose members are the church,
He the salvation of the body, He
310 The members' life perennial; He, made flesh,
He, ta'en away for all, Himself first rose
Again, salvation's only hope; and gave
The norm to His disciples: they at once
All variously suffered, for His Name,
315 Unworthy penalties.
Such members bears
With beauteous body the free mother, since
She never her Lord's precepts left behind,
And in His home hath grown old, to her Lord
Ever most choice, having for His Name's sake
320 Penalties suffered. For since, barren once,
Not yet secure of her futurity,
She hath outgiven a people born of seed
Celestial, and[3] been spurned, and borne the spleen[4]
Of her own handmaid; now 'tis time to see
325 This former-barren mother have a son
The heir of her own liberty; not like

[1] Comp. 1 John i. 1, 2. [2] See 2 Cor. xii. 1 sqq.

[3] The common reading is, "Atque suæ famulæ porta*vit* spreta dolorem," for which Oehler reads "porta*rit*;" but I incline rather to suggest that "porta*vit*" be retained, but that the "a*t*que" be changed into "a*e*que," thus: "Aeque suæ famulæ porta*vit* spreta dolorem;" *i.e.*, Since, like Sarah, the once barren Christian church-mother hath had children, *equally*, like Sarah, hath she had to bear scorn and spleen at her handmaid's—the Jewish church-mother's—hands.

[4] Dolorem.

The *handmaid's* heir, yoked in *estate* to *her*,
Although she bare him from celestial seed
Conceived. Far be it that ye should with words
330 Unlawful, with rash voice, collectively
Without distinction, give men exemplary
(Heaven's glowing constellations, to the mass
Of men conjoined by seed alone or blood),
The rugged bondman's[1] name; or that one think
335 That he may speak in servile style about
A People who the mandates followèd
Of the Lord's Law. No: but we mean the troop
Of sinners, empty, mindless, who have placed
God's promises in a mistrustful heart;
340 Men vanquisht by the miserable sweet
Of present life: that troop would have been bound
Capital slavery to undergo,
By their own fault, if sin's cause shall impose
Law's yoke upon the mass. For to serve God,
345 And be whole-heartedly intent thereon,
Untainted faith, and freedom, is thereto
Prepared spontaneous.
The just fathers, then,
And holy stainless prophets, many, sang
The future advent of the Lord; and they
350 Faithfully testify what Heaven bids
To men profane: with them the giants,[2] men
With Christ's own glory satiated, made
The consorts of His virtue, filling up
The hallowed words, have stablishèd our faith;
355 By facts predictions proving.
Of these men
Disciples who succeeded them throughout
The orb, men wholly filled with virtue's breath,
And our own masters, have assigned to us
Honours conjoined with works.
Of whom the first

[1] *i.e.* Ishmael's.
[2] "Immanes," if it be the true reading.

360 Whom Peter bade to take his place and sit
Upon this chair in mightiest Rome where he
Himself had sat,[1] was Linus, great, elect,
And by the mass approved. And after him
Cletus himself the fold's flock undertook;
365 As his successor Anacletus was
By lot located: Clement follows him;
Well known was he to apostolic men:[2]
Next Evaristus ruled without a crime
The law.[3] To Sixtus Sextus Alexander
370 Commends the fold: who, after he had filled
His lustral times up, to Telesphorus
Hands it in order: excellent was he,
And martyr faithful. After him succeeds
A comrade in the law,[4] and master sure:
375 When lo! the comrade of your wickedness,
Its author and forerunner—Cerdo hight—
Arrived at Rome, smarting with recent wounds:
Detected, for that he was scattering
Voices and words of venom stealthily:
380 For which cause, driven from the band, he bore
This sacrilegious brood, the dragon's breath
Engendering it. Blooming in piety
United stood the church of Rome, compact
By Peter: whose successor, too, himself,
385 And now in the ninth place, Hyginus was,
The burden undertaking of his chair.
After him followed Pius—Hermas his
Own brother[5] was; angelic "Pastor," he,

[1] This is the way Oehler's punctuation reads. Migne's reads as follows:

. . . "Of whom the first
Whom mightiest Rome bade take his place and sit
Upon the chair where Peter's self had sat," etc.

[2] "Is apostolicis bene notus." This may mean, (*a*) as in our text; (*b*) by his apostolically-minded writings—writings like an apostle's; or (*c*) by the apostolic writings, *i.e.* by the mention made of him, supposing him to be the same, in Phil. iv. 3.

[3] Legem. [4] Legis. [5] Germine frater.

Because he spake the words delivered him:[1]
390 And Anicetus[2] the allotted post
In pious order undertook. 'Neath whom
Marcion here coming, the new Pontic pest,
(The secret daring deed in his own heart
Not yet disclosed,) went, speaking commonly,
395 In all directions, in his perfidy,
With lurking art. But after he began
His deadly arrows to produce, cast off
Deservèdly (as author of a crime
So savage), reprobated by the saints,
400 He burst, a wondrous monster! on our view.

BOOK IV.

OF MARCION'S ANTITHESES.[3]

What the Inviolable Power bids
The youthful people,[4] which, rich, free, and heir,
Possesses an eternal hope of praise
(By right assigned) is this: that with great zeal
5 Burning, armed with the love of peace—yet not
As teachers (Christ alone doth all things teach[5]),
But as Christ's household-servants—o'er the earth

[1] An allusion to the well-known *Pastor* or *Shepherd* of Hermas.

[2] Our author makes the name Anīcĕtus. Rig. (as quoted by Oehler) observes that a comparison of the list of bishops of Rome here given with that given by Tertullian in *de Præscr.* c. xxxii. seems to show that this metrical piece cannot be his.

[3] The state of the text in some parts of this book is frightful. It has been almost hopeless to extract any sense whatever out of the Latin in many passages—indeed, the renderings are in these cases little better than guess-work—and the confusion of images, ideas, and quotations is extraordinary.

[4] See the preceding book.

[5] I have changed the unintelligible "daret" of the edd. into "docet." The reference seems to be to Matt. xxiii. 8; Jas. iii. 1; 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

They should conduct a massive war;[1] should raze
The wicked's lofty towers, savage walls,
10 And threats which 'gainst the holy people's bands
Rise, and dissolve such empty sounds in air.
Wherefore we, justly speaking emulous words,[2]
Out of his[3] own words even strive to express
The meaning of salvation's records,[4] which
15 Large grace hath poured profusely; and to ope
To the saints' eyes the Bandit's[5] covert plague:
Lest any untrained, daring, ignorant,
Fall therein unawares, and (being caught)
Forfeit celestial gifts.
God, then, is One
20 To mortals all and everywhere; a Realm
Eternal, Origin of light profound;
Life's Fount; a Draught fraught[6] with all wisdom. He
Produced the orb whose bosom all things girds;
Him not a region, not a place, includes
25 In circuit: matter none perennial is,[7]
So as to be self-made, or to have been
Ever, created by no Maker: heaven's,
Earth's, sea's, and the abyss's[8] Settler[9] is
The Spirit; air's Divider, Builder, Author,
30 Sole God perpetual, Power immense, is He.[10]
Him had the Law the People[11] shown to be
One God,[12] whose mighty voice to Moses spake

[1] Molem belli deducere terræ.

[2] Æmulamenta. Migne seems to think the word refers to Marcion's "Antitheses."

[3] *i.e.* apparently Marcion's. [4] Monumenta.

[5] See the opening of the preceding book.

[6] "Conditus;" *i.e.* probably (in violation of quantity) the past part. of "condio" = flavoured, seasoned.

[7] I have altered the punctuation here.

[8] Inferni. [9] Locator.

[10] These lines are capable, according to their punctuation, of various renderings, which for brevity's sake I must be content to omit.

[11] *i.e.* the People of Israel. See the *de Idol.* p. 148, c. v. note 1.

[12] See Deut. vi. 3, 4, quoted in Mark xii. 29, 30.

Upon the mount. Him this His Virtue, too,
His Wisdom, Glory, Word, and Son, this Light
35 Begotten from the Light immense,[1] proclaims
Through the seers' voices, to be One: and Paul,[2]
Taking the theme in order up, thus too
Himself delivers; "Father there is One[3]
Through whom were all things made: Christ One, through whom
40 God all things made;"[4] to whom he plainly owns
That every knee doth bow itself;[5] of whom
Is every fatherhood[6] in heaven and earth
Called: who is zealous with the highest love
Of parent-care His people-ward; and wills
45 All flesh to live in holy wise, and wills
His people to appear before Him pure
Without a crime. With such zeal, by a law[7]
Guards He our safety; warns us *loyal* be;
Chastens; is instant. So, too, has the same
50 Apostle (when Galatian brethren
Chiding)—Paul—written that such zeal hath he.[8]
The fathers' sins God freely rendered, then,

[1] This savours of the Nicene Creed.

[2] Migne's pointing is followed, in preference to Oehler's.

[3] "Un*um hunc* esse Patrem;" *i.e.* "that *this One* [God] is the Father." But I rather incline to read, "un*umque* esse;" or we may render, "This One is the Sire."

[4] See 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6 (but notice the prepositions in the Greek; our author is not accurate in rendering them); Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.

[5] Ad quem se curvare genu plane omne fatetur. The reference is to Phil. ii. 10; but our author is careless in using the present tense, "se curvare."

[6] The reference is to Eph. iii. 14, 15; but here again our author seems in error, as he refers the words to *Christ*, whereas the meaning of the apostle appears clearly to refer them to *the Father*.

[7] Legitimos. See book iv. 91.

[8] See Gal. iii. 20. But here, again, "Galatas" seems rather like an error; for in speaking to the *Corinthians* St. Paul uses an expression more like our author's: see 2 Cor. xi. 2. The Latin, too, is faulty: "Talem *se* Paulus zelum *se* scripsit habere," where, perhaps, for the first "*se*" we should read "*sic*."

Slaying in whelming deluge utterly
Parents alike with progeny, and e'en
55 Grandchildren in "fourth generation"[1] now
Descended from the parent-stock, when He
Has then for nearly these nine hundred years
Assisted them. Hard does the judgment seem?
The sentence savage? And in Sodom, too,
60 That the still guiltless little one unarmed
And tender should lose life: for what had e'er
The infant sinned? What cruel thou mayst think,
Is parent-care's true duty. Lest misdeed
Should further grow, crime's authors He did quench,
65 And sinful parents' brood. But, with his sires,
The harmless infant pays not penalties
Perpetual, ignorant and not advanced
In crime: but lest he partner should become
Of adult age's guilt, death immature
70 Undid spontaneous future ills.
Why, then,
Bids God libation to be poured to Him
With blood of sheep? and takes so stringent means
By Law, that, in the People, none transgress
Erringly, threatening them with instant death
75 By stoning? and why reprobates, again,
These gifts of theirs, and says they are to Him
Unwelcome, while He chides a People prest
With swarm of sin?[2] Does He, the truthful, bid,
And He, the just, at the same time repel?
80 The causes if thou seekst, cease to be moved
Erringly: for faith's cause is weightier
Than fancied reason.[3] Through a mirror[4]—shade
Of fulgent light!—behold what the calf's blood,
The heifer's ashes, and each goat, do mean:
85 The one dismissed goes off, the other falls
A victim at the temple.

[1] Comp. Ex. xx. 5; Deut. v. 9. [2] See Isa. i. 10–15; Jer. vi. 20.
[3] Causa etenim fidei rationis imagine major.
[4] Comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 12; Heb. x. 1.

With calf's blood
With water mixt the seer[1] (thus from on high
Bidden) besprinkled People, vessels all,
Priests, and the written volumes of the Law.
90 See here not their true hope, nor yet a mere
Semblance devoid of virtue;[2] but behold
In the calf's type Christ destined *bodily*
To suffer; who upon His shoulders bare
The plough-beam's hard yokes,[3] and with fortitude
95 Brake His own heart with the steel share, and poured
Into the furrows water of His own
Life's blood. For these "temple-vessels" do
Denote our bodies: God's true temple[4] He,
Not dedicated erst; for to Himself
100 He by His blood associated men,
And willed them be His body's priests, Himself
The Supreme Father's perfect Priest by right.
Hearing, sight, step inert, He cleansed; and, for a "book,"[5]
Sprinkled, by speaking[6] words of presage, those
105 His witnesses: demonstrating the Law
Bound by His holy blood.
This cause withal
Our victim through "*the heifer*" manifests
From whose blood taking for the People's sake

[1] Moses. See Heb. ix. 19–22, and the references there.

[2] Comp. Heb ix. 13.

[3] Alluding probably to our Lord's bearing of the *cross-beam* of His *cross*—the beam being the "yokes," and the upright stem of the cross the "plough-beam"—on His shoulders. See John xix. 17.

[4] Templum. Comp. John ii. 19–22; Col. ii. 9.

[5] Libro. The reference is to the preceding lines, especially 89, and Heb. ix. 19, *αὐτὸ τὸ βιβλίον*. The use of "libro" is curious, as it seems to be used partly as if it would be equivalent to *pro libro*, "in the place of a book," partly in a more truly datival sense, "to serve the purposes of a book;" and our "for" is capable of the two senses.

[6] For this comparison of "speaking" to "sprinkling," comp. Deut. xxxii. 2, "My *doctrine shall drop as the rain;* my *speech shall distil as the dew*," etc.; Job xxix. 22, "My *speech dropped* upon them;" with Eph. v. 26, and with our Lord's significant action (recorded in the pas-

Piacular drops, them the first Levite[1] bare
110 Within the veil; and, by God's bidding, burned
Her corse without the camp's gates; with whose ash
He cleansed lapsed bodies.
Thus our Lord (who us
By His own death redeemed), without the camp[2]
Willingly suffering the violence
115 Of an iniquitous People, did fulfil
The Law, by facts predictions proving;[3] who
A people of contamination full
Doth truly cleanse, conceding all things, as
The body's Author rich; within heaven's veil
120 Gone with the blood which—One for many's deaths—
He hath outpoured.
A holy victim, then,
Is meet for a great priest; which worthily
He, being perfect, may be proved to have,
And offer. He *a body* hath: this is
125 For mortals a live victim; worthy this
Of great price did He offer, One for all.
The[4] semblance of the "goats" teaches that they
Are men exiled out of the "peoples twain"[5]
As barren;[6] fruitless both; (of whom the Lord
130 Spake also, in the Gospel, telling how

sage here alluded to, John xx. 22) of "*breathing on*" (ἐνεφύσησεν) His disciples. Comp., too, for the "witnesses" and "words of presage," Luke xxiv. 48, 49; Acts i. 6–8.

[1] *i.e.* the chief of the Levites, the high priest.

[2] Comp. Heb. xiii. 12, 13; John xix. 19, 20.

[3] Comp. the preceding book, 355.

[4] The passage which follows is almost unintelligible. The sense which I have offered in my text is so offered with great diffidence, as I am far from certain of having hit the meaning; indeed, the state of the text is such, that *any* meaning must be a matter of some uncertainty.

[5] *i.e.* perhaps the Jewish and Christian peoples. Comp. *adv. Jud.* c. 1.

[6] *i.e.* "barren" of faith and good works. The "goats" being but "kids" (see Lev. xvi. 8), would, of course, be barren. "Exiled" seems to mean "excommunicated." But the comparison of the sacrificed goat to a penitent, and of the scapegoat to an impenitent, excommunicate, is extravagant. Yet I see no other sense.

The kids are severed from the sheep, and stand
On the left hand[1]) : that some indeed there are
Who for the Lord's Name's sake have suffered : thus
That fruit has veiled their former barrenness :
135 And such, the prophet teaches, on the ground
Of that their final merit worthy are
Of the Lord's altar : others, cast away
(As was th' iniquitous rich man, we read,
By Lazarus[2]), are such as have remained
140 Exiled, persistent in their stubbornness.
Now a veil, hanging in the midst, did both
Dissever,[3] and had into portions twain
Divided the one shrine.[4] The inner parts
Were called "Holies of holies." Stationed there
145 An altar shone, noble with gold ; and there,
At the same time, the testaments and ark
Of the Law's tablets ; covered wholly o'er
With lambs' skins[5] dyed with heaven's hue ; within
Gold-clad ;[6] and all between of wood. Here are
150 The tablets of the Law ; here is the urn

[1] See Matt. xxv. 31–33.

[2] *i.e.* Lazarus was not allowed to help him. In that sense he may be said to have been "cast away;" but it is Abraham, not Lazarus, who pronounces his doom. See Luke xvi. 19–31.

[3] *i.e.* in that the blood of the one was brought within the veil ; the other was not.

[4] Ædem.

[5] The meaning seems to be, that *the ark*, when it had to be removed from place to place, had (as we learn from Num. iv. 5) to be covered with "the second veil" (as it is called in Heb. ix. 3), which was "of blue," etc. But that this veil was made "of lambs' skins" does not appear ; on the contrary, it was made of "linen." The *outer* veil, indeed (not the out*most*, which was of "badgers' skins," according to the Eng. ver. ; but of "ἰακίνθινα δέρματα"—of what material is not said—according to the LXX.), *was* made "of rams' skins ;" but then they were "dyed *red*" (ἠρυθροδανωμένα, LXX.), not "*blue*." So there is some confusion in our author.

[6] The ark was overlaid with gold *without* as well as within. (See Ex. xxv. 10, 11, xxxvii. 1, 2 ; and this is referred to in Heb. ix. 3, 4—κιβωτὸν . . . περικεκαλυμμένην πάντοθεν χρυσίῳ—where our Eng. ver. rendering is defective, and in the context as well.) This, however, may be said to

Replete with manna; here is Aaron's rod
Which puts forth germens of the cross[1]—unlike
The cross itself, yet born of storax-tree[2]—
And over it—in uniformity
155 Fourfold—the cherubim their pinions spread,
And the inviolable sanctities[3]
Covered obediently.[4] Without the veil
Part of the shrine stood open: facing it,
Heavy with broad brass, did an altar stand;
160 And with two triple sets (on each side one)
Of branches woven with the central stem,
A lampstand, and as many[5] lamps:
The golden substance wholly filled with light
The temple.[6]
Thus the temple's outer face,
165 Common and open, does the ritual
Denote, then, of a people lingering
Beneath the Law; amid whose[7] gloom there shone
The Holy Spirit's sevenfold unity
Ever, the People sheltering.[8] And thus
170 The Lampstand True and living Lamps do shine
Persistently throughout the Law and Seers
On men subdued in heart. And for a type
Of *earth*,[9] the altar—so tradition says—

be implied in the following words: "and *all between*," *i.e.* between the layers above and beneath, "of wood."

[1] Migne supposes some error in these words. Certainly the sense is dark enough; but see lower down.

[2] It yielded "almonds," according to the Eng. ver. (Num. xvii. 8). But see the LXX.

[3] Sagmina. But the word is a very strange one to use indeed. See the Latin Lexicons, *s.v.*

[4] It might be questionable whether "jussa" refers to "cherubim" or to "sagmina."

[5] *i.e.* twice three + the central one = 7.

[6] Our author persists in calling the tabernacle temple.

[7] *i.e.* the Law's.

[8] "*T*egebat," *i.e.* with the "fiery-cloudy pillar," unless it be an error for "*r*egebat," which still might apply to the pillar.

[9] Terræ.

Was made. Here constantly, in open space,
175 Before all eyes were visible of old
The People's "works,"[1] which ever—"not without
Blood"[2]—it did offer, shedding out the gore
Of lawless life.[3] There, too, the Lord—Himself
Made victim on behalf of all—denotes
180 The *whole earth*[4]—altar in specific sense.
Hence likewise that new covenant author, whom
No language can describe, Disciple John,
Testifies that beneath such altar he
Saw souls which had for Christ's name suffered,
185 Praying the vengeance of the mighty God
Upon their slaughter.[5] There,[6] meantime, is rest.
In some unknown part there exists a spot
Open, enjoying its own light; 'tis called
"Abraham's bosom;" high above the glooms,[7]
190 And far removed from fire, yet 'neath the earth.[8]
The *brazen altar* this is called, whereon
(We have recorded) was a dusky veil.[9]
This veil divides both parts, and leaves the one
Open, from the eternal one distinct
195 In worship and time's usage. To itself
'Tis not unfriendly, though of fainter love,
By time and space divided, and yet linked
By reason. 'Tis one house, though by a veil
Parted it seems: and thus (when the veil burst,
200 On the Lord's passion) heavenly regions oped
And holy vaults,[10] and what was double erst
Became one house perennial.

[1] "Operæ," *i.e.* sacrifices. The Latin is a hopeless jumble of words without grammatical sequence, and any rendering is mere guess-work.
[2] Heb. ix. 7.
[3] *i.e.* of animals which, as irrational, were "without the Law."
[4] Terram. [5] Rev. vi. 9, 10.
[6] *i.e.* beneath the altar. See the 11th verse *ib.*
[7] Or possibly, "deeper than the glooms:" "altior a tenebris."
[8] Terra. [9] See 141, 142, above.
[10] Cælataque sancta. We might conjecture "celataque sancta," = "and the sanctuaries formerly hidden."

Order due
Traditionally has interpreted
The *inner temple* of the people called
205 After Christ's Name, with worship heavenly,
God's actual mandates following; (no "shade"
Is *herein* bound, but persons real;[1]) complete
By the arrival of the "perfect things."[2]
The *ark* beneath a type points out to us
210 Christ's venerable body, joined, through "wood,"[3]
With sacred Spirit: the *aërial*[4] *skins*
Are flesh not born of seed, outstretcht on "wood;"[5]
At the same time, with golden semblance fused,[6]
Within, the glowing Spirit joinèd is
215 Thereto; that, with peace[7] granted, flesh might bloom
With Spirit mixt. Of the Lord's flesh, again,
The *urn*, golden and full, a type doth bear.
Itself denotes that the new covenant's Lord
Is *manna;* in that He, true heavenly Bread,
220 Is, and hath by the Father been transfused[8]
Into that bread which He hath to His saints
Assignèd for a pledge: this Bread will He

[1] This sense appears intelligible, as the writer's aim seems to be to distinguish between the "actual" commands of God, *i.e.* the spiritual, essential ones, which the spiritual people "follow," and which "bind" —not the ceremonial observance of a "shadow of the future blessings" (see Heb. x. 1), but "real persons," *i.e.* living souls. But, as Migne has said, the passage is probably faulty and mutilated.

[2] Comp. Heb. vii. 19, x. 1, ix. 11, 12.

[3] "Lignum:" here probably = "the flesh," which He took from Mary; the "rod" (according to our author) which Isaiah had foretold.

[4] Aërial, *i.e.* as he said above, "dyed with *heaven's hue.*"

[5] "Ligno," *i.e.* "the cross," represented by the "wood" of which the tabernacle's boards, on which the coverings were stretched (but comp. 147–8, above), were made.

[6] As the flame of the lamps appeared to grow out of and be fused with the "golden semblance" or "form" of the lampstand or candlestick.

[7] Of which the olive—of which the pure oil for the lamps was to be made: Ex. xxvii. 20; Lev. xxiv. 2—is a type. "Peace" is granted to "the flesh" through Christ's work and death in flesh.

[8] Traditus.

Give perfectly to them who (of good works
The lovers ever) have the bonds of peace
225 Kept. And *the double tablets of the Law*
Written all over, these, at the same time,
Signify that that Law was ever hid
In Christ, who mandate old and new fulfilled,
Ark of the Supreme Father as He is,
230 Through whom He, being rich, hath all things given.
The *storax-rod*, too, nut's fruit bare itself;
(The virgin's semblance this, who bare in blood
A body:) on the "wood"[1] conjoined 'twill lull
Death's bitter, which within sweet fruit doth lurk,
235 By virtue of the Holy Spirit's grace:
Just as Isaiah did predict "a rod"
From Jesse's seed[2]—Mary—from which a flower
Issues into the orb.
The *altar bright with gold*
Denotes the heaven on high, whither ascend
240 Prayers holy, sent up without crime: the Lord
This "altar" spake of, where if one doth gifts
Offer, he must first reconciliate
Peace with his brother:[3] thus at length his prayers
Can flame unto the stars. Christ, Victor sole
245 And foremost[4] Priest, thus offered *incense* born
Not of a *tree*, but prayers.[5]
The *cherubim*[6]
Being, with twice two countenances, one,
And are the one word through fourfold order led;[7]
The hopèd comforts of life's mandate new,
250 Which in their plenitude Christ bare Himself
Unto us from the Father. But the *wings*
In number *four times six*,[8] the heraldings

[1] In ligno. The passage is again in an almost desperate state.
[2] Isa. xi. 1, 2. [3] Matt. v. 23, 24. [4] Primus. [5] See Rev. viii. 3, 4.
[6] Here ensues a confused medley of all the cherubic figures of Moses, Ezekiel, and St. John.
[7] *i.e.* by the four evangelists.
[8] The cherubim, (or "seraphim" rather,) of Isa. vi. have each *six*

Of the old word denote, witnessing things
Which, we are taught, were after done. On these[1]
255 The heavenly words fly through the orb: with these
Christ's blood is likewise held contèxt, so told
Obscurely by the seers' presaging mouth.
The *number* of the wings doth set a seal
Upon the ancient volumes; teaching us
260 Those *twenty-four* have certainty enough
Which sang the Lord's ways and the times of peace:
These all, we see, with the new covenant
Cohere. Thus also John; the Spirit thus
To him reveals that in that number stand
265 The enthroned elders white[2] and crowned, who (as
With girding-rope) all things surround, before
The Lord's throne, and upon the glassy sea
Subigneous: and four living creatures, winged
And full of eyes within and outwardly,
270 Do signify that hidden things are oped,
And all things shut are at the same time seen,
In the word's eye. The glassy flame-mixt sea
Means that the laver's gifts, with Spirit fused
Therein, upon believers are conferred.
275 Who could e'en tell what the Lord's parent-care
Before His judgment-seat, before His bar,
Preparèd hath? that such as willing be
His forum and His judgment for themselves
To antedate, should 'scape! that who thus hastes
280 Might find abundant opportunity!

wings. Ezekiel mentions *four* cherubim, or "living creatures." St. John likewise mentions *four* "living creatures." Our author, combining the passages, and thrusting them into the subject of the Mosaic cherubim, multiplies the *six* (wings) by the *four* (cherubs), and so attains his end—the desired number "*twenty-four*"—to represent the books of the Old Testament, which (by combining certain books) may be reckoned to be *twenty-four* in number.

[1] These wings.

[2] There is again some great confusion in the text. The elders could not "*stand enthroned:*" nor do they stand "*over,*" but "*around*" God's throne; so that the "insuper solio" could not apply to that.

Thus therefore Law and wondrous prophets sang;
Thus all parts of the covenant old and new,
Those sacred rites and pregnant utterances
Of words, conjoined, do flourish. Thus withal,
285 Apostles' voices witness everywhere;
Nor aught of old, in fine, but to the new
Is joined.
Thus err they, and thus facts retort
Their sayings, who to false ways have declined;
And from the Lord and God, eternal King,
290 Who such an orb produced, detract, and seek
Some other deity 'neath feignèd name,
Bereft of minds, which (frenzied) they have lost;
Willing to affirm that Christ a stranger is
To the Law; nor is the world's[1] Lord; nor doth will
295 Salvation of the flesh; nor was Himself
The body's Maker, by the Father's power.[2]
Them must we flee, stopping (unasked) our ears;
Lest with their speech they stain innoxious hearts.
Let therefore us, whom so great grace[3] of God
300 Hath penetrated, and the true celestial words
Of the great Master-Teacher in good ways
Have trained, and given us right monuments;[4]
Pay honour ever to the Lord, and sing
Endlessly, joying in pure faith, and sure
305 Salvation. Born of the true God, with bread
Perennial are we nourishèd, and hope
With our whole heart after eternal life.

[1] Mundi. [2] Virtute. [3] Honestas.
[4] Or, "records:" "monumenta," *i.e.* the written word, according to the canon.

BOOK V.

GENERAL REPLY TO SUNDRY OF MARCION'S HERESIES.[1]

The *first* Book did the enemy's words recall
In order, which the senseless renegade
Composed and put forth lawlessly; hence, too,
Touched briefly flesh's hope, Christ's victory,
5 And false ways' speciousness. The *next* doth teach
The Law's conjoinèd mysteries, and what
In the new covenant the one God hath
Delivered. The *third* shows the race, create
From freeborn mother, to be ministers
10 Sacred to seers and patriarchs;[2] whom Thou,
O Christ, in number twice six out of all,[3]
Chosest; and, with their names, the lustral[4] times
Of our own elders noted, (times preserved
On record,) showing in whose days appeared
15 The author[5] of this wickedness, unknown,
Lawless, and roaming, cast forth[6] with his brood.
The *fourth*, too, the piacular rites recalls
Of the old Law themselves, and shows them types
In which the Victim True appeared, by saints
20 Expected long since, with the holy Seed.
This *fifth* doth many twists and knots untie,

[1] I make no apology for the ruggedness of the versification and the obscurity of the sense in this book, further than to say that the state of the Latin text is such as to render it almost impossible to find any sense at all in many places, while the grammar and metre are not reducible to any known laws. It is about the hardest and most uninteresting book of the five.

[2] Or, "consecrated by seers and patriarchs."

[3] *i.e.* all the number of Thy disciples.

[4] Tempora lustri, *i.e.* apparently the times during which these "elders" (*i.e.* the bishops, of whom a list is given at the end of Book iii.) held office. "Lustrum" is used of other periods than it strictly implies, and this seems to give some sense to this difficult passage.

[5] *i.e.* Marcion.

[6] *i.e.* excommunicated.

Rolls wholly into sight what ills soe'er
Were lurking; drawing arguments, but not
Without attesting prophet.
And although
25 With strong arms fortified we vanquish foes,
Yet hath the serpent mingled so at once
All things polluted, impious, unallowed,
Commaculate,—the blind's path without light!
A voice contaminant!—that, all the while
30 We are contending the world's Maker is
Himself sole God, who also spake by voice
Of seers, and proving that there is none else
Unknown; and, while pursuing Him with praise,
Who is by various endearment[1] known,
35 Are blaming—among other fallacies—
The Unknown's tardy times: our subject's fault
Will scarce keep pure our tongue. Yet, for all that,
Guile's many hidden venoms us enforce
(Although with double risk[2]) to ope our words.
40 Who, then, the God whom ye say is the true,
Unknown to peoples, alien, in a word,
To all the world?[3] Him whom none knew before?
Came he from high? If 'tis his own[4] he seeks,
Why seek so late? if not his own, why rob
45 Bandit-like? and why ply with words unknown
So oft throughout Law's reign a People still
Lingering 'neath the Law? If, too, he comes
To pity and to succour all combined,
And to re-elevate men vanquisht quite
50 By death's funereal weight, and to release
Spirit from flesh's bond obscene, whereby
The inner man (iniquitously dwarfed)
Is held in check; why, then, so late appear
His ever-kindness, duteous vigilance?

[1] Complexu vario.

[2] Ancipiti quamquam cum crimine. The last word seems almost = "*dis*crimine;" just as our author uses "cerno" = "*dis*cerno."

[3] Mundo.

[4] Cf. John i. 11, and see the Greek.

55 How comes it that he ne'er at all before
Offered himself to any, but let slip
Poor souls in numbers?[1] and then with his mouth
Seeks to regain another's subjects: ne'er
Expected; not known; sent into the orb.
60 Seeking the "ewe" he had not lost before,
The Shepherd ought[2] to have disrobed himself
Of flesh, as if his victor-self withal
Had ever been a spirit, and as such[3]
Willèd to rescue all expellèd souls,
65 Without a body, everywhere, and leave
The spoilèd flesh to earth; wholly to fill
The world[4] on one day equally with corpses
To leave the orb void; and to raise the souls
To heaven. Then would human progeny
70 At once have ceasèd to be born; nor had
Thereafter any scion of *your*[5] kith
Been born, or spread a new pest[6] o'er the orb.
Or (since at that time[7] none of all these things
Is shown to have been done) he should have set
75 A bound to future race; with solid heart
Nuptial embraces would he, in that case,
Have sated quite;[8] made men grow torpid, reft
Of fruitful seed; made irksome intercourse
With female sex; and closed up inwardly
80 The flesh's organs genital: our mind

[1] Whether this be the sense I know not. The passage is a mass of confusion.

[2] *i.e.* according to Marcion's view.

[3] *i.e.* as spirits, like himself.

[4] Mundum.

[5] *i.e.* Marcionite.

[6] See Book ii. 3.

[7] *i.e.* apparently on the day of Christ's resurrection.

[8] Rep*l*esset, *i.e.* replevisset. If this be the right reading, the meaning would seem to be, "would have taken away all further desire for" them, as satiety or *repletion* takes away all appetite for food. One is almost inclined to hazard the suggestion "rep*r*esset," *i.e.* repressisset, "he would have *repressed*," but that such a contraction would be irregular. Yet, with an author who takes such liberties as the present one, perhaps that might not be a decisive objection.

Had had no will, no potent faculty
Our body: after this the "inner man"
Could withal, joined with blood,[1] have been infused
And cleaved to flesh, and would have ever been
85 Perishing. Ever perishes the "ewe:"
And is there then no power of saving her?
Since man is ever being born beneath
Death's doom, what is the Shepherd's work, if thus
The "ewe" is stated[2] to be found? *Unsought*,
90 In that case, but not *rescued*, she is proved.
But now choice is allowed of entering
Wedlock, as hath been ever; and that choice
Sure progeny hath yoked: nations are born
And folk scarce numerable, at whose birth
95 Their souls by living bodies are received;
Nor was it meet that Paul (though, for the time,
He did exhort some few, discerning well
The many pressures of a straitened time)
To counsel men in like case to abide
100 As he himself:[3] for elsewhere he has bidden
The tender ages marry, nor defraud
Each other, but their compact's dues discharge.
But say, whose suasion hath, with fraud astute,
Made you "abide," and in divided love
105 Of offspring live secure, and commit crime
Adulterous, and lose your life? and, though
'Tis perishing, belie (by verbal name)
That fact? For which cause all the so sweet sounds

[1] "Junct*us*," for the edd.'s "junct*is*," which, if retained, will mean "in the case of beings still joined with (or to) blood."

[2] "Doc*e*tur," for the edd.'s "doc*en*tur." The sense seems to be, if there be any, exceedingly obscure; but for the idea of a half-salvation—the salvation of the "inner man" without the outer—being no salvation at all, and unworthy of "the Good Shepherd" and His work, we may compare the very difficult passage in the *de Pudic.* c. xiii. *ad fin.*

[3] This sense, which I deduce from a transposition of one line and the supplying of the words "*he did exhort*," which are not expressed, but seen necessary, in the original, agrees well with 1 Cor. vii., which is plainly the passage referred to.

Of his voice pours he forth, that "you must do,
110 Undaunted, whatsoever pleases you;"
Outwardly chaste, stealthily stained with crime!
Of honourable wedlock, by this plea,[1]
He hath deprived you. But why more? 'Tis well
(Forsooth) to be disjoined! for the world, too,
115 Expedient 'tis! lest any of *your* seed
Be born! Then will death's organs[2] cease at length!
The while you hope salvation to retain,
Your "total man" quite loses part of man,
With mind profane: but neither is man said
120 To be *sole spirit*, nor the *flesh* is called
"The old man;" nor unfriendly are the flesh
And spirit, the *true man* combined in one,
The *inner*, and he whom you call "*old foe;*"[3]
Nor are they seen to have each his own set
125 Of senses. One is ruled; the other rules,
Groans, joys, grieves, loves; himself[4] to his own flesh
Most dear, too; *through* which[5] his humanity
Is visible, *with* which commixt he is
Held ever: to its wounds he care applies;
130 And pours forth tears; and nutriments of food
Takes, through its limbs, often and eagerly:
This hopes he to have ever with himself
Immortal; o'er its fracture doth he groan;
And grieves to quit it limb by limb: fixt time
135 Death lords it o'er the unhappy flesh; that so
From light dust it may be renewed, and death
Unfriendly fail at length, when flesh, released,
Rises again. This will that victory be
Supreme and long expected, wrought by Him,

[1] "Causa;" or perhaps "*means*." It is, of course, the French "chose."

[2] *i.e.* you and your like, through whom sin, and in consequence death, is disseminated.

[3] Here, again, for the sake of the sense, I have transposed a line.

[4] *i.e.* "the other," the "inner man," or spirit.

[5] *i.e.* through flesh.

140 The aye-to-be-revered, who did become
True man; and by His Father's virtue won:
Who man's redeemèd limbs unto the heavens
Hath raised,[1] and richly opened access up
Thither in hope, first to His nation; then
145 To those among all tongues in whom His work
Is ever doing: Minister imbued
With His Sire's parent-care, seen by the eye
Of the Illimitable, He performed,
By suffering, His missions.[2]
What say now
150 The impious voices? what th' abandoned crew?
If He Himself, God the Creator's self,
Gave not the Law,[3] He who from Egypt's vale[4]
Paved in the waves a path, and freely gave
The seats which He had said of old, why comes
155 He in that very People and that land
Aforesaid? and why rather sought He not
Some other[5] peoples or some rival[6] realms?
Why, further, did He teach that, through the seers,
(With Name foretold in full, yet not His own,)
160 He had been often sung of? Whence, again,
Could He have issued baptism's kindly gifts,
Promised by some one else, as His own works?
These gifts men who God's mandates had transgressed,
And hence were found polluted, longèd for,
165 And begged a pardoning rescue from fierce death.
Expected long, they[7] came: but that to those
Who recognised them when erst heard, and now
Have recognised them, when in due time found,
Christ's true hand is to give them, this, with voice
170 Paternal, the Creator-Sire Himself
Warns ever from eternity, and claims;

[1] *i.e.* in His own person.

[2] I hope I have succeeded in giving some intelligible sense; but the passage as it stands in the Latin is nearly hopeless.

[3] I read "lege*m*" for "leges."

[4] I read "*v*alle" for "*c*alle."

[5] Alios.

[6] Altera.

[7] *i.e.* "the gifts of baptism."

And thus the work of virtue which He framed,
And still frames, arms, and fosters, and doth now
Victorious look down on and reclothe
175 With His own light, should with perennial praise
Abide.[1]
What[2] hath the Living Power done
To make men recognise what God can give
And man can suffer, and thus live?[3] But since
Neither predictions earlier nor facts
180 The latest can suade senseless frantic[4] men
That God became a man, and (after He
Had suffered and been buried) rose; that they
May credit those so many witnesses
Harmonious,[5] who of old did cry aloud
185 With heavenly word, let them both[6] learn to trust
At least terrestrial reason.
When the Lord
Christ came to be, as flesh, born into the orb
In time of king Augustus' reign at Rome,
First, by decree, the nations numbered are
190 By census everywhere: this measure, then,
This same king chanced to pass, because the Will
Supreme, in whose high reigning hand doth lie

[1] This seems to give sense to a very obscure passage, in which I have been guided more by Migne's pointing than by Oehler's.

[2] I read here "quid" for "quod."

[3] *i.e.* to make men live by recognising that. Comp. the Psalmist's prayer: "Give me *understanding* and I shall *live*" (Ps. cxix. 144; in LXX., Ps. cxviii. 144).

[4] The "furentes" of Pam. and Rig. is preferred to Oehler's "ferentes."

[5] "Complexis," lit. "embracing."

[6] *i.e.* both Jews and Gentile heretics, the "senseless frantic men" just referred to probably: or possibly the "ambo" may mean "*both sects*," viz. the Marcionites and Manichees, against whom the writer whom Oehler supposes to be the probable author of these "Five Books," Victorinus, a rhetorician of Marseilles, directed his efforts. But it may again be the acc. neut. pl., and mean "let them"—*i.e.* the "senseless frantic men"—"learn to believe *as to both facts*," *i.e.* the incarnation and the resurrection; (see vers. 179, 180;) "the testimony at least of human reason."

The king's heart, had impelled him :[1] he was first
To do it, and the enrolment was reduced
195 To orderly arrangement. Joseph then
Likewise, with his but just delivered wife
Mary,[2] with her celestial Son alike,
Themselves withal are numbered. Let, then, such
As trust to instruments of human skill,
200 Who may (approving of applying them
As attestators of the holy word)
Inquire into this census, if it be
But found so as we say, then afterwards
Repent they and seek pardon while time still
205 Is had.[3]
The Jews, who own[4] to having wrought
A grave crime, while in our disparagement
They glow, and do resist us, neither call
Christ's family unknown, nor can[5] affirm
They hanged a man who spake truth on a tree : [6]
210 Ignorant that the Lord's flesh which they bound[7]
Was not seed-gendered. But, while partially

[1] I would suggest here, for

" . . . quia summa voluntas
In cujus manu regnantis cor *legibus esset*,"

something like this,

" . . . quia summa voluntas,
In cujus manu regnantis cor *regis, egisset*,"

which would only add one more to our author's false quantities. "Regum egisset" would avoid even that, while it would give some sense. Comp. Prov. xxi. 1.

[2] Maria cum conjuge feta. What follows seems to decide the meaning of "feta," as a child could hardly be included in a census before birth.

[3] Again I have had to attempt to amend the text of the Latin in order to extract any sense, and am far from sure that I have extracted the right one.

[4] "Fatentur," unless our author use it passively = "are confessed."

[5] "Possunt," *i.e.* probably "have the hardihood."

[6] Because Christ plainly, as they understood Him, "made Himself the Son of God;" and hence, if they confessed that He had said the truth, and yet that they hanged Him on a tree, they would be pronouncing their own condemnation.

[7] "Vinctam" for "victam" I read here.

They keep a reticence, so partially
They triumph; for they strive to represent
God to the peoples commonly as man.
215 Behold the error which o'ercomes you both![1]
This error will our cause assist, the while,
We prove to you those things which certain are.
They do deny Him God; you falsely call
Him man, a body bodiless! and ah!
220 A various insanity of mind
Sinks you; which him who hath presumed to hint
You both do, sinking, sprinkle:[2] for His deeds
Will then approve Him man alike and God
Commingled, and the world[3] will furnish signs
225 No few.
While then the Son Himself of God
Is seeking to regain the flesh's limbs,[4]
Already robed as King, He doth sustain
Blows from rude palms; with spitting covered is
His face; a thorn-inwoven crown His head
230 Pierces all round; and to the tree[5] Himself
Is fixed; wine drugged with myrrh[6] is drunk, and gall[7]
Is mixt with vinegar; parted His robe,[8]
And in it[9] lots are cast; what for himself

[1] *i.e.* you and the Jews. See above on 183.

[2] Quod qui præsumpsit mergentes spargitis ambo. What the meaning is I know not, unless it be this: if any one hints to you that you are in an error which is sinking you into perdition, you both join in trying to sink *him* (if "mergentes" be active; or "while you are sinking," if neuter), and in sprinkling him with your doctrine (or besprinkling him with abuse).

[3] Mundus.

[4] "Dum carnis membra requirit," *i.e.* seeking to regain *for God* all the limbs of the flesh as His instruments. Comp. Rom. vi. 13, 19.

[5] Ligno. [6] "Scriblita," a curious word.

[7] Fel miscetur *aceto*. The reading may have arisen—and it is not confined to our author—from confounding ὄξος with οἶνος. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 33 with Mark xv. 23.

[8] This is an error, if the "coat" be meant.

[9] Perhaps for "in illa" we should read "in illam" = "on it," for "in it."

Each one hath seized he keeps; in murky gloom,
235 As God from fleshly body silently
Outbreathes His soul, in darkness trembling day
Took refuge with the sun; twice dawned one day;
Its centre black night covered: from their base
Mounts move in circle, wholly moved was earth,
240 Saints' sepulchres stood ope, and all things joined
In fear to see His passion whom they knew!
His lifeless side a soldier with bare spear
Pierces, and forth flows blood, nor water less
Thence followed. These facts they[1] agree to hide,
245 And are unwilling the misdeed to own,
Willing to blink the crime.
Can spirit, then,
Without a body wear a robe? or is't
Susceptible of penalty? the wound
Of violence does it bear? or die? or rise?
250 Is blood thence poured? from what flesh, since ye say
He had none? or else, rather, feigned He? if
'Tis safe for you to say so; though you do
(Headlong) so say, by passing over more
In silence. Is not, then, faith manifest?
255 And are not all things fixed? The day before
He then[2] should suffer, keeping Passover,
And handing down a memorable rite[3]
To His disciples, taking bread alike
And the vine's juice, "My body, and My blood
260 Which is poured[4] for you, this is," did He say;
And bade it ever afterward be done.
Of what created elements were made,
Think ye, the bread and wine which were (He said)
His body with its blood? and what must be
265 Confessèd? Proved He not Himself the world's[5]
Maker, through deeds? and that He bore at once

[1] The Jews.
[2] For "ante diem qu*am cum* pateretur" I have read "qu*a tum*."
[3] Or, "deed"—"factum." [4] Or, "*is being* poured"—"funditur."
[5] Mundi.

A body formed from flesh and blood?
This God,
This true Man, too, the Father's Virtue 'neath
An Image,[1] with the Father ever was,
270 United both in glory and in age;[2]
Because alone He ministers the words
Of the All-Holder; whom He[3] upon earth
Accepts;[4] through whom He all things did create:
God's Son, God's dearest Minister, is He!
275 Hence hath He generation, hence Name too,
Hence, finally, a kingdom; Lord from Lord;
Stream from perennial Fount! He, He it was
Who to the holy fathers (whosoe'er
Among them doth profess to have "seen God"[5])—
280 God is our witness—since the origin
Of this our world,[6] appearing, opened up
The Father's words of promise and of charge
From heaven high: He led the People out;
Smote through th' iniquitous nation; was Himself
285 The column both of light and of cloud's shade;
And dried the sea; and bids the People go
Right through the waves, the foe therein involved
And covered with the flood and surge: a way
Through deserts made He for the followers
290 Of His high biddings; sent down bread in showers[7]
From heaven for the People; brake the rock;
Bedewed with wave the thirsty;[8] and from God

[1] I read with Migne, "*Patris* sub imagine virtus," in preference to the conjecture which Oehler follows, "*Christi* sub imagine virtus." The reference seems clearly to be to Heb. i. 3.

[2] Ævo. Perhaps here = "eternity." [3] *i.e.* "The All-Holder."

[4] Capit.

[5] Cf. Jacob's words in Gen. xxxii. 30; Manoah's in Judg. xiii. 22; etc.

[6] Mundi.

[7] For "*di*misit in *um*bris" I read here "*de*misit in *im*bris." If we retain the former reading, it will then mean, "dispersed during the shades of night," during which it was that the manna seems always to have fallen.

[8] "Sitient*is*" in Oehler must be a misprint for "sitient*es*."

The mandate of the Law to Moses spake
With thunder, trumpet-sound, and flamey column
295 Terrible to the sight, while men's hearts shook.
After twice twenty years, with months complete,
Jordan was parted; a way oped; the wave
Stood in a mass; and the tribes shared the land,
Their fathers' promised boons! The Father's word,
300 Speaking Himself by prophets' mouth, that He[1]
Would come to earth and be a man, He did
Predict; Christ manifestly to the earth
Foretelling.
Then, expected for our aid,
Life's only Hope, the Cleanser of our flesh,[2]
305 Death's Router, from th' Almighty Sire's empire
At length He came, and with our human limbs
He clothed Him. Adam—virgin—dragon—tree,[3]
The cause of ruin, and the way whereby
Rash death us all had vanquisht! by the same
310 Our Shepherd treading, seeking to regain
His sheep—with angel—virgin—His own flesh—
And the "tree's" remedy;[4] whence vanquisht man
And doomed to perish was aye wont to go
To meet his vanquisht peers; hence, interposed,
315 One in all captives' room, He did sustain
In body the unfriendly penalty
With patience; by His own death spoiling death;
Becomes salvation's cause; and, having paid
Throughly our debts by throughly suffering
320 On earth, in holy body, everything,
Seeks the infern! here souls, bound for their crime,
Which shut up all together by Law's weight,

[1] There ought to be a "se" in the Latin if this be the meaning.

[2] For "Mundator carnis *seræ*" = "the Cleanser of *late* flesh" (which would seem, if it mean anything, to mean that the flesh had to wait long for its cleansing), I have read "carnis *nostræ*."

[3] Lignum.

[4] I have followed the disjointed style of the Latin as closely as I could here.

Without a guard,[1] were asking for the boons
Promised of old, hoped for, and tardy, He
325 To the saints' rest admitted, and, with light,
Brought back. For on the third day mounting up,[2]
A victor, with His body, by His Sire's
Virtue immense, (salvation's pathway made,)
And bearing God and man is form create,
330 He clomb the heavens, leading back with Him
Captivity's first-fruits (a welcome gift
And a dear figure[3] to the Lord), and took
His seat beside light's Father, and resumed
The virtue and the glory of which, while
335 He was engaged in vanquishing the foe,
He had been stripped;[4] conjoined with Spirit; bound
With flesh, on our part. Him, Lord, Christ, King, God,
Judgment and kingdom given to His hand,
The Father is to send unto the orb.

N.B.—It has been impossible to note the changes which I have had to make in the text of the Latin. In some cases they will suggest themselves to any scholar who may compare the translation with the original; and in others I must be content to await a more fitting opportunity (if such ever arise) for discussing them.

[1] Here we seem to see the idea of the "limbus patrum."

[2] "Subiens" = "going beneath," *i.e.* apparently coming beneath *the walls of heaven.*

[3] *i.e.* a figure of the future harvest.

[4] I have hazarded the conjecture "m*inu*tus" here for the edd.'s "m*uni*tus." It adds one more, it is true, to our author's false quantities, but that is a minor difficulty, while it improves (to my mind) the sense vastly.

A FRAGMENT OF
AN EPISTLE OR TREATISE OF DIONYSIUS,
BISHOP OF ROME,
AGAINST THE SABELLIANS.

1. NOW truly it would be just to dispute against those who, by dividing and rending the monarchy, which is the most august announcement of the church of God, into, as it were, three powers, and distinct substances (*hypostases*), and three deities, destroy it.[1] For I have heard that some who preach and teach the word of God among you are teachers of this opinion, who indeed diametrically, so to speak, are opposed to the opinion of Sabellius. For he blasphemes in saying that the Son Himself is the Father, and *vice versâ;* but these in a certain manner announce three gods, in that they divide the holy unity into three different substances, absolutely separated from one another. For it is essential that the Divine Word should be united to the God of all, and that the Holy Spirit should abide and dwell in God; and thus that the Divine Trinity should be reduced and gathered into one, as if into a certain head—that is, into the omnipotent God of all. For the doctrine of the foolish Marcion, which cuts and divides the monarchy into three elements, is assuredly of the devil, and is not of Christ's true disciples, or of those to whom the Saviour's teaching is agreeable. For these indeed rightly know that the Trinity is declared in the divine Scripture, but that the doctrine that there are three Gods is neither taught in the Old nor in the New Testament.

[1] Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 26.

2. But neither are they less to be blamed who think that the Son was a creation, and decided that the Lord was made just as one of those things which really were made; whereas the divine declarations testify that He was begotten, as is fitting and proper, but not that He was created or made. It is therefore not a trifling, but a very great impiety, to say that the Lord was in any wise made with hands. For if the Son was made, there was a time when He was not; but He always was, if, as He Himself declares,[1] He is undoubtedly in the Father. And if Christ is the Word, the Wisdom, and the Power (for the divine writings tell us that Christ is these, as ye yourselves know), assuredly these are powers of God. Wherefore, if the Son was made, there was a time when these were not in existence; and thus there was a time when God was without these things, which is utterly absurd. But why should I discourse at greater length to you about these matters, since ye are men filled with the Spirit, and especially understanding what absurd results follow from the opinion which asserts that the Son was made? The leaders of this view seem to me to have given very little heed to these things, and for that reason to have strayed absolutely, by explaining the passage otherwise than as the divine and prophetic Scripture demands. "The Lord created me the beginning of His ways."[2] For, as ye know, there is more than one signification of the word "*created;*" and in this place "*created*" is the same as "*set over*" the works made by Himself—made, I say, by the Son Himself. But this "*created*" is not to be understood in the same manner as "*made.*" For to make and to create are different from one another. "Is not He Himself thy Father, that hath possessed thee and created thee?"[3] says Moses in the great song of Deuteronomy. And thus might any one reasonably convict these men. Oh reckless and rash men! was then "the first-born of every creature"[4] something made?—"He who was begotten from the womb before the morning star?"[5]—He who in the person of Wisdom says,

[1] John xiv. 12. [2] Prov. viii. 22. [3] Deut. xxxii. 6.
[4] Col. i. 15. [5] Ps. cx. 3, LXX.

"Before all the hills He begot me?"[1] Finally, any one may read in many parts of the divine utterances that the Son is said to have been begotten, but never that He was made. From which considerations, they who dare to say that His divine and inexplicable generation was a creation, are openly convicted of thinking that which is false concerning the generation of the Lord.

3. That admirable and divine unity, therefore, must neither be separated into three divinities, nor must the dignity and eminent greatness of the Lord be diminished by [having applied to it] the name of creation, but we must believe on God the Father Omnipotent, and on Christ Jesus His Son, and on the Holy Spirit. Moreover, that the Word is united to the God of all, because He says, "I and the Father are one;"[2] and, "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me."[3] Thus doubtless will be maintained in its integrity [the doctrine of] the divine Trinity, and the sacred announcement of the monarchy.

[1] Prov. viii. 25. [2] John x. 30. [3] John xiv. 10.

A FRAGMENT
ON THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

BY THE MARTYR VICTORINUS, BISHOP OF PETAU,

WHO FLOURISHED TOWARDS THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

TO me, as I meditate and consider in my mind concerning the creation of this world in which we are kept enclosed, even such is the rapidity of that creation; as is contained in the book of Moses, which he wrote about its creation, and which is called Genesis. God produced that entire mass for the adornment of His majesty in six days; on the seventh to which He consecrated it . . . with a blessing. For this reason, therefore, because in the septenary number of days both heavenly and earthly things are ordered, in place of the beginning I will consider of this seventh day after the principle of all matters pertaining to the number of seven; and as far as I shall be able, I will endeavour to portray the day of [the divine] power to that consummation.

In the beginning God made the light, and divided it in the exact measure of twelve hours by day and by night, for this reason, doubtless, that day might bring over the night as an occasion of rest for men's labours; that, again, day might overcome, and thus that labour might be refreshed with this alternate change of rest, and that repose again might be tempered by the exercise of day. "On the fourth day He made two lights in the heaven, the greater and the lesser, that the one might rule over the day, the other over the night,"[1]—[the lights of] the sun and moon; and He placed the rest of the stars in heaven, that they might shine

[1] Gen. i. 16, 17.

upon the earth, and by their positions distinguish the seasons, and years, and months, and days, and hours.

Now is manifested the reason of the truth why the fourth day is called the Tetras, why we fast even to the ninth hour, or even to the evening, or why there should be a passing over even to the next day. Therefore this world of ours is composed of four elements—fire, water, heaven, earth. These four elements, therefore, form the quaternion of times or seasons. The sun, also, and the moon constitute throughout the space of the year four seasons—of spring, summer, autumn, winter; and these seasons make a quaternion. And to proceed further still from that principle, lo, there are four living creatures before God's throne,[1] four gospels, four rivers flowing in paradise;[2] four generations of people from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ the Lord, the Son of God; and four living creatures [like to] a man, a calf, a lion, an eagle; and four rivers, the Pison, the Gihon, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The man Christ Jesus, the originator of these things whereof we have above spoken, was taken prisoner by wicked hands, by a quaternion [of soldiers]. Therefore on account of His captivity by a quaternion, on account of the majesty of His works,—that the seasons also, wholesome to humanity, joyful for the harvests, tranquil for the tempests, may roll on,—therefore we make [the fourth day] a station or a supernumerary fast.

On the fifth day the land and water brought forth their progenies. On the sixth day the things that were wanting were created; and thus God raised up man from the soil, as lord of all the things which He created upon the earth and the water. Yet He created angels and archangels before He created man, placing spiritual beings before earthly ones. For light was made before sky and the earth. This sixth day is called *parasceve* [scil. παρασκευή], that is to say, the preparation of the kingdom. For He perfected Adam, whom [He had made] after His image and likeness. But for this reason He completed His works before He created

[1] Rev. iv. 6. [2] Gen. ii. 10.

angels and fashioned man, lest perchance they should falsely assert that they had been His helpers. On this day also, on account of the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ, we make either a station to God, or a fast. On the seventh day He rested from all His works, and blessed it, and sanctified it. On the former day we are accustomed to fast rigorously, that on the Lord's day we may go forth to our bread with giving of thanks. And let the *parasceve* become a rigorous fast, lest we should appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews, which Christ Himself, the Lord of the Sabbath, says by His prophets that "His soul hateth;"[1] which Sabbath He in His body abolished, although, however, He had formerly Himself commanded Moses that circumcision should not pass over the eighth day, which day very frequently happens on the Sabbath, as we read written in the Gospel.[2] Moses, foreseeing the hardness of that people, on the Sabbath raised up his hands, therefore, and thus fastened himself to a cross.[3] And in the battle they were sought for by the foreigners on the Sabbath-day, that they might be taken captive, and, as if by the very strictness of the law, might be fashioned to the avoidance of its teaching.[4]

And thus in the sixth Psalm for the eighth day, David asks the Lord that He would not rebuke him in His anger, nor judge him in His fury;[5] for this is indeed the eighth day of that future judgment, which will pass beyond the order of the sevenfold arrangement. Jesus also, the son of Nave, the successor of Moses, himself broke the Sabbath-day; for on the Sabbath-day he commanded the children of Israel[6] to go round the walls of the city of Jericho with trumpets, and declare war against the aliens. Matthias[7] also, prince of Judah, broke the Sabbath; for he slew the prefect of Antiochus the king of Syria on the Sabbath, and subdued the foreigners by pursuing them. And in Matthew we read, that it is written Isaiah also and the rest of his colleagues broke the Sabbath[8]—that that true and

[1] Isa. i. 13, 14. [2] John vii. 22. [3] Ex. xxii. 9, 12.
[4] 1 Macc. ii. 31–41. [5] Ps. vi. 1. [6] Josh. vi. 3.
[7] Mattathias, interp. Vulg. [8] Matt. xii. 3.

just Sabbath should be observed in the seventh millenary of years. Wherefore to those seven days the Lord attributed to each a thousand years; for thus went the warning: "In Thine eyes, O Lord, a thousand years are as one day."[1] Therefore in the eyes of the Lord each thousand of years is ordained, for I find that the Lord's eyes are seven.[2] Wherefore, as I have narrated, that true Sabbath will be in the seventh millenary of years, when Christ with His elect shall reign. Moreover, the seven heavens agree with those days; for thus we are warned: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the powers of them by the spirit of His mouth."[3] There are seven spirits. Their names are the spirits which abode on the Christ of God, as was intimated in Isaiah the prophet: "And there rests upon Him the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of wisdom[4] and of piety, and the spirit of God's fear hath filled Him."[5] Therefore the highest heaven is the heaven of wisdom; the second, of understanding; the third, of counsel; the fourth, of might; the fifth, of knowledge; the sixth, of piety; the seventh, of God's fear. From this, therefore, the thunders bellow, the lightnings are kindled,[6] the fires are heaped together; fiery darts[7] appear, stars gleam, the anxiety caused by the dreadful comet is aroused.[8] Sometimes it happens that the sun and moon approach one another, and cause those more than frightful appearances, radiating with light in the field of their aspect. But the author of the whole creation is Jesus. His name is the Word; for thus His Father says: "My heart hath emitted a good word."[9] John the evangelist thus says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made that was made."[10]

[1] Ps. xc. 4. [2] Zech. iv. 10. [3] Ps. xxxiii. 6.
[4] Probably "knowledge." [5] Isa. xi. 2, 3.
[6] Or, "the rivers are spread abroad." [7] Trabes.
[8] Coma horribilis curabitur. [9] Ps. xlv. 1.
[10] John i. 1, 2, 3.

Therefore, first, was made the creation; secondly, man, the lord of the human race, as says the apostle.[1] Therefore this Word, when it made light, is called Wisdom; when it made the sky, Understanding; when it made land and sea, Counsel; when it made sun and moon and other bright things, Power; when it calls forth land and sea, Knowledge; when it formed man, Piety; when it blesses and sanctifies man, it has the name of God's fear.

Behold the seven horns of the Lamb,[2] the seven eyes of God[3]—the seven eyes are the seven spirits of the Lamb;[4] seven torches burning before the throne of God,[5] seven golden candlesticks,[6] seven young sheep,[7] the seven women in Isaiah,[8] the seven churches in Paul,[9] seven deacons,[10] seven angels,[11] seven trumpets,[12] seven seals to the book, seven periods of seven days with which Pentecost is completed, the seven weeks in Daniel,[13] also the forty-three weeks in Daniel;[14] with Noah, seven of all clean things in the ark;[15] seven revenges of Cain,[16] seven years for a debt to be acquitted,[17] the lamp with seven orifices,[18] seven pillars of wisdom in the house of Solomon.[19]

Now, therefore, you may see that it is being told you of the unerring glory of God in providence; yet, as far as my small capacity shall be able, I will endeavour to set it forth. That He might re-create that Adam by means of the week, and bring aid to His entire creation, was accomplished by the nativity of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Who, then, that is taught in the law of God, who that is filled with the Holy Spirit, does not see in his heart, that on the same day on which the dragon seduced Eve, the angel Gabriel brought the glad tidings to the Virgin Mary; that on the same day the Holy Spirit overflowed the Virgin Mary, on which He

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 45–47.
[2] Rev. v. 6.
[3] Zech. iv. 10.
[4] Rev. iv. 5.
[5] Rev. iv. 5.
[6] Rev. i. 13.
[7] Lev. xxiii. 18.
[8] Isa. iv. 1.
[9] Acts vi. 3. ?
[10] Acts vi. 3.
[11] Rev. *passim.*
[12] Josh. vi.; Rev. viii.
[13] Dan. ix. 25.
[14] Dan. ix.
[15] Gen. vii. 2.
[16] Gen. iv. 15.
[17] Deut. xv. 1.
[18] Zech. iv. 2.
[19] Prov. xi. 1.

made light; that on that day He was incarnate in flesh, in which He made the land and water; that on the same day He was put to the breast, on which He made the stars; that on the same day He was circumcised,[1] on which the land and water brought forth their offspring; that on the same day He was incarnated, on which He formed man out of the ground; that on the same day Christ was born, on which He formed man; that on that day He suffered, on which Adam fell; that on the same day He rose again from the dead, on which He created light? He, moreover, consummates His humanity in the number seven: of His nativity, His infancy, His boyhood, His youth, His young-manhood, His mature age, His death. I have also set forth His humanity to the Jews in these manners: since He is hungry, is thirsty; since He gave food and drink; since He walks, and retired; since He slept upon a pillow;[2] since, moreover, He walks upon the stormy seas with His feet, He commands the winds, He cures the sick and restores the lame, He raises the blind by His speech, [He makes the deaf to hear, and recalls the dead,[3]]—see ye that He declares Himself to them to be the Lord.

The day, as I have above related, is divided into two parts by the number twelve—by the twelve hours of day and night; and by these hours too, months, and years, and seasons, and ages are computed. Therefore, doubtless, there are appointed also twelve angels of the day and twelve angels of the night, in accordance, to wit, with the number of hours. For these are the twenty-four witnesses of the days and nights[4] which sit before the throne of God, having golden crowns on their heads, whom the Apocalypse of John the apostle and evangelist calls elders, for the reason that they are older both than the other angels and than men.

[1] Ea die in sanguine.

[2] Mark iv. 38.

[3] This is inserted conjecturally by Routh.

[4] Rev. iv. 4.

COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE OF THE BLESSED JOHN.

BY ST. VICTORINUS, BISHOP OF PETAU, AND MARTYR.

From the First Chapter.

1. "THE revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to Him, and showed unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass, and signified it. Blessed are they who read and hear the words of this prophecy, and keep the things which are written."] The beginning of the book promises blessing to him that reads and hears and keeps, that he who takes pains about the reading may thence learn [to do] works, and may keep the precepts.

4. "Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come."] *He is*, because He endures continually; *He was*, because with the Father He made all things, and has at this time taken a beginning from the Virgin; *He is to come*, because assuredly [He will come] to judgment.

"And from the seven spirits which are before His throne."] We read of a sevenfold spirit in Isaiah,[1]—namely, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, of knowledge and of piety, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

5. "And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful Witness, the first-begotten of the dead."] In taking upon Him manhood, He gave a testimony in the world, wherein also having suffered, He freed us by His blood from sin; and having

[1] Isa. xi. 2.

vanquished hell, He was the first who rose from the dead, and "death shall have no more dominion over Him,"[1] but by His own reign the kingdom of the world is destroyed.

6. "And He made us a kingdom and priests unto God and His Father."] That is to say, a church of all believers; as also the Apostle Peter says: "A holy nation, a royal priesthood."[2]

7. "Behold, He shall come with clouds, and every eye shall see Him."] For He who at first came hidden in the manhood that He had undertaken, shall after a little while come to judgment manifest in majesty and glory. And what saith He?

12. "And I turned, and saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks one like unto the Son of man."] He says that He was like Him after His victory over death, when He had ascended into the heavens, after the union in His body of the power which He received from the Father with the spirit of His glory.

13. "As it were the Son of man walking in the midst of the golden candlesticks."] He says, in the midst of the churches, as it is said in Solomon, "I will walk in the midst of the paths of the just,"[3] whose antiquity is immortality, and the fountain of majesty.

"Clothed with a garment down to the ankles."] In the long, that is, the priestly garment, these words very plainly deliver the flesh which was not corrupted in death, and has the priesthood through suffering.

"And He was girt about the paps with a golden girdle."] His paps are the two testaments, and the golden girdle is the choir of saints, as gold tried in the fire. Otherwise the golden girdle bound around His breast indicates the enlightened conscience, and the pure and spiritual apprehension that is given to the churches.

14. "And His head and His hairs were white as it were white wool, and as it were snow."] On the head the whiteness is shown; "but the head of Christ is God."[4] In the

[1] Rom. vi. 9.
[2] 1 Pet. ii. 9.
[3] Prov. viii. 20
[4] 1 Cor. xi. 3.

white hairs is the multitude of abbots like to wool, in respect of simple sheep; to snow, in respect of the innumerable crowd of candidates taught from heaven.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire."] God's precepts are those which minister light to believers, but to unbelievers burning.

16. "And in His face was brightness as the sun."] That which He called *brightness* was the appearance of that in which He spoke to men face to face. But the glory of the *sun* is less than the glory of the Lord. Doubtless on account of its rising and setting, and rising again, that He was born and suffered and rose again, therefore the Scripture gave this similitude, likening His face to the glory of the sun.

15. "His feet were like unto yellow brass, as if burned in a furnace."] He calls the apostles His feet, who, being wrought by suffering, preached His word in the whole world; for He rightly named those by whose means the preaching went forth, feet. Whence also the prophet anticipated this, and said: "We will worship in the place where His feet have stood."[1] Because where they first of all stood and confirmed the church, that is, in Judea, all the saints shall assemble together, and will worship their Lord.

16. "And out of His mouth was issuing a sharp two-edged sword."] By the twice-sharpened sword going forth out of His mouth is shown, that it is He Himself who has both now declared the word of the gospel, and previously by Moses declared the knowledge of the law to the whole world. But because from the same word, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, He will assert Himself upon the whole human race, therefore He is spoken of as two-edged. For the sword arms the soldier, the sword slays the enemy, the sword punishes the deserter. And that He might show to the apostles that He was announcing judgment, He says: "I came not to send peace, but a sword."[2] And after He had completed His parables, He says to them: "Have ye understood all these things? And they said, We have. And He added, Therefore is every scribe in-

[1] Ps. cxxxii. 7. [2] Matt. x. 34.

structed in the kingdom of God like unto a man that is a father of a family, bringing forth from his treasure things new and old,"[1]—the new, the evangelical words of the apostles; the old, the precepts of the law and the prophets: and He testified that these proceeded out of His mouth. Moreover, He also says to Peter: "Go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that shall first come up; and having opened its mouth, thou shalt find a stater (that is, two denarii), and thou shalt give it for me and for thee."[2] And similarly David says by the Spirit: "God spake once, twice I have heard the same."[3] Because God once decreed from the beginning what shall be even to the end. Finally, as He Himself is the Judge appointed by the Father, on account of His assumption of humanity, wishing to show that men shall be judged by the word that He had declared, He says: "Think ye that I will judge you at the last day? Nay, but the word," says He, "which I have spoken unto you, that shall judge you in the last day."[4] And Paul, speaking of Antichrist to the Thessalonians, says: "Whom the Lord Jesus will slay by the breath of His mouth."[5] And Isaiah says: "By the breath of His lips He shall slay the wicked."[6] This, therefore, is the two-edged sword issuing out of His mouth.

15. "And His voice as it were the voice of many waters."] The many waters are understood to be many peoples, or the gift of baptism that He sent forth by the apostles, saying: "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[7]

16. "And He had in His right hand seven stars."] He said that in His right hand He had seven stars, because the Holy Spirit of sevenfold agency was given into His power by the Father. As Peter exclaimed to the Jews: "Being at the right hand of God exalted, He hath shed forth this Spirit received from the Father, which ye both see and hear."[8] Moreover, John the Baptist had also anticipated

[1] Matt. xii. 51, 52. [2] Matt. xvii. 26. [3] Ps. lxii. 11.
[4] John xii. 48. [5] 2 Thess. ii. 8. [6] Isa. xi. 4.
[7] Matt. xxviii. 19. [8] Acts ii. 33.

this, by saying to his disciples: "For God giveth not the Spirit by measure [unto Him]. The Father," says he, "loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands."[1] Those seven stars are the seven churches, which he names in his addresses by name, and calls them to whom he wrote epistles. Not that they are themselves the only, or even the principal churches; but what he says to one, he says to all. For they are in no respect different, that on that ground any one should prefer them to the larger number of similar small ones. In the whole world Paul taught that all the churches are arranged by sevens, that they are called seven, and that the catholic church is one. And first of all, indeed, that he himself also might maintain the type of seven churches, he did not exceed that number. But he wrote to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Thessalonians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians; afterwards he wrote to individual persons, so as not to exceed the number of seven churches. And abridging in a short space his announcement, he thus says to Timothy: "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the church of the living God."[2] We read also that this typical number is announced by the Holy Spirit by the mouth of Isaiah: "Of seven women which took hold of one man."[3] The one man is Christ, not born of seed; but the seven women are seven churches, receiving His bread, and clothed with His apparel, who ask that their reproach should be taken away, only that His name should be called upon them. The bread is the Holy Spirit, which nourishes to eternal life, promised to them, that is, by faith. And His garments wherewith they desire to be clothed are the glory of immortality, of which Paul the apostle says: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."[4] Moreover, they ask that their reproach may be taken away—that is, that they may be cleansed from their sins: for the reproach is the original sin which is taken away in baptism, and they begin to be called Christian men,

[1] John iii. 34, 35.
[2] 1 Tim. iii. 15.
[3] Isa. iv. 1.
[4] 1 Cor. xv. 53.

which is, "Let thy name be called upon us." Therefore in these seven churches, of one catholic church are believers, because it is one in seven by the quality of faith and election. Whether writing to them who labour in the world, and live[1] of the frugality of their labours, and are patient, and when they see certain men in the church wasters, and pernicious, they hear them, lest there should become dissension, he yet admonishes them by love, that in what respects their faith is deficient they should repent; or to those who dwell in cruel places among persecutors, that they should continue faithful; or to those who, under the pretext of mercy, do unlawful sins in the church, and make them manifest to be done by others; or to those that are at ease in the church; or to those who are negligent, and Christians only in name; or to those who are meekly instructed, that they may bravely persevere in faith; or to those who study the Scriptures, and labour to know the mysteries of their announcement, and are unwilling to do God's work that is mercy and love: to all he urges penitence, to all he declares judgment.

From the Second Chapter.

2. "I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience."] In the first epistle He speaks thus: I know that thou sufferest and workest, I see that thou art patient; think not that I am staying long from thee.

"And that thou canst not bear them that are evil, and who say that they are Jews and are not, and thou hast found them liars, and thou hast patience for my name's sake."] All these things tend to praise, and that no small praise; and it behoves such men, and such a class, and such elected persons, by all means to be admonished, that they may not be defrauded of such privileges granted to them of God. These few things He said that He had against them.

4, 5. "And thou hast left thy first love: remember whence thou hast fallen."] He who falls, falls from a height: therefore He said *whence:* because, even to the very last, works of love must be practised; and this is the principal com-

[1] "Operantur," conjectured to be "vivunt."

mandment. Finally, unless this is done, He threatened to remove their candlestick out of its place, that is, to disperse the congregation.

6. "This thou hast also, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes."] But because thou thyself hatedst those who hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitanes, thou expectest praise. Moreover, to hate the works of the Nicolaitanes, which He Himself also hated, this tends to praise. But the works of the Nicolaitanes were in that time false and troublesome men, who, as ministers under the name of Nicolaus, had made for themselves a heresy, to the effect that what had been offered to idols might be exorcised and eaten, and that whoever should have committed fornication might receive peace on the eighth day. Therefore He extols those to whom He is writing; and to these men, being such and so great, He promised the tree [of life], which is in the paradise of His God.

The following epistle unfolds the mode of life and habit of another order which follows. He proceeds to say:

9. "I know thy tribulation and thy poverty, but thou art rich."] For He knows that with such men there are riches hidden with Him, and that they deny the blasphemy of the Jews, who say that they are Jews and are not; but they are the synagogue of Satan, since they are gathered together by Antichrist; and to them He says:

10. "Be thou faithful unto death."] That they should continue to be faithful even unto death.

11. "He that shall overcome, shall not be hurt by the second death."] That is, he shall not be chastised in hell.

The third order of the saints shows that they are men who are strong in faith, and who are not afraid of persecution; but because even among them there are some who are inclined to unlawful associations, He says:

14–16. "Thou hast there some who hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught in the case of Balak that he should put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat and to commit fornication. So also hast thou them who hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes; but I will fight with them with

the sword of my mouth."] That is, I will say what I shall command, and I will tell you what you shall do. For Balaam,[1] with his doctrine, taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the eyes of the children of Israel, to eat what was sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication,—a thing which is known to have happened of old. For he gave this advice to the king of the Moabites, and they caused stumbling to the people. Thus, says He, ye have among you those who hold such doctrine; and under the pretext of mercy, you would corrupt others.

17. "To him that overcometh I will give the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone."] The hidden manna is immortality; the white gem is adoption to [be] the son of God; the new name written on the stone is "Christian."

The fourth class intimates the nobility of the faithful, who labour daily, and do greater works. But even among them also He shows that there are men of an easy disposition to grant unlawful peace, and to listen to new forms of prophesying; and He reproves and warns the others to whom this is not pleasing, who know the wickedness opposed to them: for which evils He purposes to bring upon the head of the faithful both sorrows and dangers; and therefore He says:

24. "I will not put upon you any other burden."] That is, I have not given you laws, observances, and duties, which is another burden.

25, 26. "But that which ye have, hold fast until I come; and he that overcometh, to him will I give power over all peoples."] That is, him I will appoint as judge among the rest of the saints.

28. "And I will give him the morning star."] To wit, the first resurrection. He promised the morning star, which drives away the night, and announces the light, that is, the beginning of day.

From the Third Chapter.

The fifth class, company, or association of saints, sets forth

[1] Num. xxiii.

men who are careless, and who are carrying on in the world other transactions than those which they ought—Christians only in name. And therefore He exhorts them that by any means they should be turned away from negligence, and be saved; and to this effect He says:

2. "Be watchful, and strengthen the other things which were ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God."] For it is not enough for a tree to live and to have no fruit, even as it is not enough to be called a Christian and to confess Christ, but not to have Himself in our work, that is, not to do His precepts.

The sixth class is the mode of life of the best election. The habit of saints is set forth; of those, to wit, who are lowly in the world, and unskilled in the Scriptures, and who hold the faith immoveably, and are not at all broken down by any chance, or withdrawn from the faith by any fear. Therefore He says to them:

8. "I have set before thee an open door, because thou hast kept the word of my patience."] In such little strength.

10. "And I will keep thee from the hour of temptation."] That they may know His glory to be of this kind, that they are not indeed permitted to be given over to temptation.

12. "He that overcometh shall be made a pillar in the temple of God."] For even as a pillar is an ornament of the building, so he who perseveres shall obtain a nobility in the church.

Moreover, the seventh association of the church declares that they are rich men placed in positions of dignity, but believing that they are rich, among whom indeed the Scriptures are discussed in their bedchamber, while the faithful are outside; and they are understood by none, although they boast themselves, and say that they know all things,—endowed with the confidence of learning, but ceasing from its labour. And thus He says:

15. "That they are neither cold nor hot."] That is, neither unbelieving nor believing, for they are all things to all men. And because he who is neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, gives nausea, He says:

16. "I will vomit thee out of my mouth."] Although nausea is hateful, still it hurts no one; so also is it with men of this kind when they have been cast forth. But because there is time of repentance, He says:

18. "I persuade thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire."] That is, that in whatever manner you can, you should suffer for the Lord's name tribulations and passions.

"And anoint thine eyes with eye-salve."] That what you gladly know by the Scripture, you should strive also to do the work of the same. And because, if in these ways men return out of great destruction to great repentance, they are not only useful to themselves, but they are able also to be of advantage to many, He promised them no small reward,—to sit, namely, on the throne of judgment.

From the Fourth Chapter.

"After this, I beheld, and, lo, a door was opened in heaven."] The new testament is announced as an opened door in heaven.

"And the first voice which I heard [was], as it were, of a trumpet talking with me, saying, Come up hither."] Since the door is shown to be opened, it is manifest that previously it had been closed to men. And it was sufficiently and fully laid open when Christ ascended with His body to the Father into heaven. Moreover, the first voice which he had heard when he says that it spoke with him, without contradiction condemns those who say that one spoke in the prophets, another in the gospel; since it is rather He Himself who comes, that is the same who spoke in the prophets. For John was of the circumcision, and all that people which had heard the announcement of the Old Testament was edified with his word.

"That very same voice," said he, "that I had heard, that said unto me, Come up hither."] That is the Spirit, whom a little before he confesses that he had seen walking as the Son of man in the midst of the golden candlesticks. And he now gathers from Him what had been foretold in similitudes by the law, and associates with this scripture all the former prophets, and opens up the Scriptures. And because

our Lord invited in His own name all believers into heaven, He forthwith poured out the Holy Spirit, who should bring them to heaven. He says:

2. "Immediately I was in the Spirit."] And since the mind of the faithful is opened by the Holy Spirit, and that is manifested to them which was also foretold to the fathers, he distinctly says:

"And, behold, a throne was set in heaven."] The throne set: what is it but the throne of judgment and of the King?

3. "And He that sate upon the throne was, to look upon, like a jasper and a sardine stone."] Upon the throne he says that he saw the likeness of a jasper and a sardine stone. The jasper is of the colour of water, the sardine of fire. These two are thence manifested to be placed as judgments upon God's tribunal until the consummation of the world, of which judgments one is already completed in the deluge of water, and the other shall be completed by fire.

"And there was a rainbow about the throne."] Moreover, the rainbow round about the throne has the same colours. The rainbow is called a bow from what the Lord spake to Noah and to his sons,[1] that they should not fear any further deluge in the generation of God, but fire. For thus He says: I will place my bow in the clouds, that ye may now no longer fear water, but fire.

6. "And before the throne there was, as it were, a sea of glass like to crystal."] That is the gift of baptism which He sheds forth through His Son in time of repentance, before He executes judgment. It is therefore before the throne, that is, the judgment. And when he says a sea of glass like to crystal, he shows that it is pure water, smooth, not agitated by the wind, not flowing down as on a slope, but given to be immoveable as the house of God.

"And round about the throne were four living creatures."] The four living creatures are the four Gospels.

7–10. "The first living creature was like to a lion, and the second was like to a calf, and the third had a face like

[1] Gen. ix.

to a man, and the fourth was like to a flying eagle; and they had six wings, and round about and within they were full of eyes; and they had no rest, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord Omnipotent. And the four and twenty elders, falling down before the throne, adored God."] The four and twenty elders are the twenty-four books of the prophets and of the law, which give testimonies of the judgment. Moreover, also, they are the twenty-four fathers—twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs. And in that the living creatures are different in appearance, this is the reason: the living creature like to a lion designates Mark, in whom is heard the voice of the lion roaring in the desert. And in the figure of a man, Matthew strives to declare to us the genealogy of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Therefore, in enumerating from Abraham to David, and thence to Joseph, he spoke of Him as if of a man: therefore his announcement sets forth the image of a man. Luke, in narrating the priesthood of Zacharias as he offers a sacrifice for the people, and the angel that appears to him with respect of the priesthood, and the victim in the same description bore the likeness of a calf. John the evangelist, like to an eagle hastening on uplifted wings to greater heights, argues about the Word of God. Mark, therefore, as an evangelist thus beginning, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet;"[1] "The voice of one crying in the wilderness,"[2]—has the effigy of a lion. And Matthew, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham:"[3] this is the form of a man. But Luke said, "There was a priest, by name Zachariah, of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron:"[4] this is the likeness of a calf. But John, when he begins, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"[5] sets forth the likeness of a flying eagle. Moreover, not only do the evangelists express their four similitudes in their [respective] openings of the Gospels, but also the Word itself of God the Father

[1] Mark i. 3. [2] Isa. xl. 3. [3] Matt. i. 1.
[4] Luke i. 5. [5] John i. 1.

Omnipotent, which is His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, bears the same likeness in the time of His advent. When He preaches to us, He is, as it were, a lion and a lion's whelp. And when for man's salvation He was made man to overcome death, and to set all men free, and that He offered Himself a victim to the Father on our behalf, He was called a calf. And that He overcame death and ascended into the heavens, extending His wings and protecting His people, He was named a flying eagle. Therefore these announcements, although they are four, yet are one, because it proceeded from one mouth. Even as the river in paradise, although it is one, was divided into four heads. Moreover, that for the announcement of the New Testament those living creatures had eyes within and without, shows the spiritual providence which both looks into the secrets of the heart, and beholds the things which are coming after that are within and without.

8. "Six wings."] These are the testimonies of the books of the Old Testament. Thus, twenty and four make as many as there are elders sitting upon the thrones. But as an animal cannot fly unless it have wings, so, too, the announcement of the New Testament gains no faith unless it have the fore-announced testimonies of the Old Testament, by which it is lifted from the earth, and flies. For in every case, what has been told before, and is afterwards found to have happened, that begets an undoubting faith. Again, also, if wings be not attached to the living creatures, they have nothing whence they may draw their life. For unless what the prophets foretold had been consummated in Christ, their preaching was vain. For the catholic church holds those things which were both before predicted and afterwards accomplished. And it flies, because the living animal is reasonably lifted up from the earth. But to heretics who do not avail themselves of the prophetic testimony, to them also there are present living creatures; but they do not fly, because they are of the earth. And to the Jews who do *not* receive the announcement of the New Testament there are present wings; but they do not fly, that is, they bring a vain

prophesying to men, not adjusting facts to their words. And the books of the Old Testament that are received are twenty-four, which you will find in the epitomes of Theodore. But, moreover (as we have said), four and twenty elders, patriarchs and apostles, are to judge His people. For to the apostles, when they asked, saying, "We have forsaken all that we had, and followed Thee: what shall we have?" our Lord replied, "When the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."[1] But of the fathers also who should judge, says the patriarch Jacob, "Dan also himself shall judge his people among his brethren, even as one of the tribes in Israel."[2]

5. "And from the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and seven torches of fire burning."] And the lightnings, and voices, and thunders proceeding from the throne of God, and the seven torches of fire burning, signify announcements, and promises of adoption, and threatenings. For lightnings signify the Lord's advent, and the voices the announcements of the New Testament, and the thunders, that the words are from heaven. The burning torches of fire [signify] the gift of the Holy Spirit, that it is given by the wood of the passion. And when these things were doing, he says that all the elders fell down and adored the Lord; while the living creatures—that is, of course, the actions recorded in the Gospels and the teaching of the Lord—gave Him glory and honour.[3] In that they had fulfilled the word that had been previously foretold by them, they worthily and with reason exult, feeling that they have ministered the mysteries and the word of the Lord. Finally, also, because He had come who should remove death, and who alone was worthy to take the crown of immortality, all for the glory of His most excellent doing had crowns.

10. "And they cast their crowns under His feet."] That is, on account of the eminent glory of Christ's victory, they

[1] Matt. xix. 27, 28. [2] Gen. xlix. 16.

[3] The living creatures are held to be the Gospels, or the acts and teaching of our Lord narrated in them.

cast all their victories under His feet. This is what in the gospel the Holy Spirit consummated by showing. For when about finally to suffer, our Lord had come to Jerusalem, and the people had gone forth to meet Him, some strewed the road with palm branches cut down, others threw down their garments, doubtless these were setting forth two peoples—the one of the patriarchs, the other of the prophets; that is to say, of the great men who had any kind of palms of their victories against sin, and cast them under the feet of Christ, the victor of all. And the palm and the crown signify the same things, and these are not given save to the victor.

From the Fifth Chapter.

1. "And I saw in the right hand of Him that sate upon the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals."] This book signifies the Old Testament, which has been given into the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, who received from the Father judgment.

2, 3. "And I saw an angel full of strength proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no one was found worthy, neither in the earth nor under the earth, to open the book."] Now to open the book is to overcome death for man.

4. "There was none found worthy to do this."] Neither among the angels of heaven, nor among men in earth, nor among the souls of the saints in rest, save Christ the Son of God alone, whom he says that he saw as a Lamb standing as it were slain, having seven horns. What had not been then announced, and what the law had contemplated for Him by its various oblations and sacrifices, it behoved Himself to fulfil. And because He Himself was the testator, who had overcome death, it was just that Himself should be appointed the Lord's heir, that He should possess the substance of the dying man, that is, the human members.

5. "Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed."] We read in Genesis that this lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered, when the patriarch Jacob says, "Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee; thou hast lain

down and slept, and hast risen up again as a lion, and as a lion's whelp."[1] For He is called a lion for the overcoming of death; but for the suffering for men He was led as a lamb to the slaughter. But because He overcame death, and anticipated the duty of the executioner, He was called as it were slain. He therefore opens and seals again the testament, which He Himself had sealed. The legislator Moses intimating this, that it behoved Him to be sealed and concealed, even to the advent of His passion, veiled his face, and so spoke to the people; showing that the words of his announcement were veiled even to the advent of his time. For he himself, when he had read to the people, having taken the wool purpled with the blood of the calf, with water sprinkled the whole people, saying, "This is the blood of His testament who hath purified you."[2] It should therefore be observed that the Man is accurately announced, and that all things combine into one. For it is not sufficient that that law is spoken of, but it is named as a testament. For no law is called a testament, nor is anything else called a testament, save what persons make who are about to die. And whatever is within the testament is sealed, even to the day of the testator's death. Therefore it is with reason that it is only sealed by the Lamb slain, who, as it were a lion, has broken death in pieces, and has fulfilled what had been foretold; and has delivered man, that is, the flesh, from death, and has received as a possession the substance of the dying person, that is, of the human members; that as by one body all men had fallen under the obligation of its death, also by one body all believers should be born again unto life, and rise again. Reasonably, therefore, His face is opened and unveiled to Moses; and therefore He is called Apocalypse, Revelation. For now His book is unsealed—now the offered victims are perceived—now the fabrication of the priestly chrism; moreover the testimonies are openly understood.

8, 9. "Twenty-four elders and four living creatures, having harps and phials, and singing a new song."] The proclamation of the Old Testament associated with the New,

[1] Gen. xlix. 8, 9. [2] Ex. xxiv. 7, 8.

points out the Christian people singing a new song, that is, bearing their confession publicly. It is a new thing that the Son of God should become man. It is a new thing to ascend into the heavens with a body. It is a new thing to give remission of sins to men. It is a new thing for men to be sealed with the Holy Spirit. It is a new thing to receive the priesthood of sacred observance, and to look for a kingdom of unbounded promise. The harp, and the chord stretched on its wooden frame, signifies the flesh of Christ linked with the wood of the passion. The phial signifies confession, and the race of the new priesthood. But it is the praise of many angels, yea, of all, the salvation of all, and the testimony of the universal creation, bringing to our Lord thanksgiving for the deliverance of men from the destruction of death. The unsealing of the seals, as we have said, is the opening of the Old Testament, and the foretelling of the preachers of things to come in the last times, which, although the prophetic Scripture speaks by single seals, yet by all the seals opened at once, prophecy takes its rank.

From the Sixth Chapter.

1, 2. "And when the Lamb had opened one of the seven seals, I saw, and heard one of the four living creatures saying, Come and see. And, lo, a white horse, and He who sate upon him had a bow."] The first seal being opened, he says that he saw a white horse, and a crowned horseman having a bow. For this was at first done by Himself. For after the Lord ascended into heaven and opened all things, He sent the Holy Spirit, whose words the preachers sent forth as arrows reaching to the human heart, that they might overcome unbelief. And the crown on the head is promised to the preachers by the Holy Spirit. The other three horses very plainly signify the wars, famines, and pestilences announced by our Lord in the Gospel. And thus he says that one of the four living creatures said (because all four are one), "Come and see." "Come" is said to him that is invited to faith; "see" is said to him who saw not. Therefore the white horse is the word of preaching with the Holy

Spirit sent into the world. For the Lord says, "This gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall come the end."[1]

3, 4. "And when He had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature saying, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red, and to him that sate upon him was given a great sword."] The red horse, and he that sate upon him, having a sword, signify the coming wars, as we read in the Gospel: "For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be great earthquakes in [divers] places."[2] This is the ruddy horse.

5. "And when He had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature saying, Come and see. And, lo, a black horse; and he who sate upon it had a balance in his hand."] The black horse signifies famine, for the Lord says, "There shall be famines in [divers] places;" but the word is specially extended to the times of Antichrist, when there shall be a great famine, and when all shall be injured. Moreover, the balance in the hand is the examining scales, wherein He might show forth the merits of every individual. He then says:

6. "Hurt not the wine and the oil."] That is, strike not the spiritual man with thy inflictions. This is the black horse.

7, 8. "And when He had opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth living creature saying, Come and see. And, lo, a pale horse; and he who sate upon him was named Death."] For the pale horse and he who sate upon him bore the name of Death. These same things also the Lord had promised among the rest of the coming destructions—great pestilences and deaths; since, moreover, he says:

"And hell followed him."] That is, it was waiting for the devouring of many unrighteous souls. This is the pale horse.

9. "And when He had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain."] He relates that he saw under the altar of God, that is, under the earth, the souls of them that were slain. For both heaven and

[1] Matt. xxiv. 14. [2] Luke xxi. 10, 11.

earth are called God's altar, as saith the law, commanding in the symbolical form of the truth two altars to be made,—a golden one within, and a brazen one without. But we perceive that the golden altar is thus called heaven, by the testimony that our Lord bears to it; for He says, "When thou bringest thy gift to the altar" (assuredly our gifts are the prayers which we offer), "and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar."[1] Assuredly prayers ascend to heaven. Therefore heaven is understood to be the golden altar which was within; for the priests also were accustomed to enter once in the year—as they who had the anointing—to the golden altar, the Holy Spirit signifying that Christ should do this once for all. As the golden altar is acknowledged to be heaven, so also by the brazen altar is understood the earth, under which is the Hades,—a region withdrawn from punishments and fires, and a place of repose for the saints, wherein indeed the righteous are seen and heard by the wicked, but they cannot be carried across to them. He who sees all things would have us to know that these saints, therefore—that is, the souls of the slain—are asking for vengeance for their blood, that is, of their body, from those that dwell upon the earth; but because in the last time, moreover, the reward of the saints will be perpetual, and the condemnation of the wicked shall come, it was told them to wait. And for a solace to their body, there were given unto each of them white robes. They received, says he, white robes, that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit.

12. "And I saw, when He had opened the sixth seal, there was a great earthquake."] In the sixth seal, then, was a great earthquake: this is that very last persecution.

"And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair."] The sun becomes as sackcloth; that is, the brightness of doctrine will be obscured by unbelievers.

"And the entire moon became as blood."] By the moon of blood is set forth the church of the saints as pouring out her blood for Christ.

[1] Matt. v. 23, 24.

13. "And the stars fell to the earth."] The falling of the stars are the faithful who are troubled for Christ's sake.

"Even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs."] The fig-tree, when shaken, loses its untimely figs—when men are separated from the church by persecution.

14. "And the heaven withdrew as a scroll that is rolled up."] For the heaven to be rolled away, that is, that the church shall be taken away.

"And every mountain and the islands were moved from their places."] Mountains and islands removed from their places intimate that in the last persecution all men departed from their places; that is, that the good will be removed, seeking to avoid the persecution.

From the Seventh Chapter.

2. "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God."] He speaks of Elias the prophet, who is the precursor of the times of Antichrist, for the restoration and establishment of the churches from the great and intolerable persecution. We read that these things are predicted in the opening of the Old and New Testament; for He says by Malachi: "Lo, I will send to you Elias the Tishbite, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, according to the time of calling, to recall the Jews to the faith of the people that succeed them."[1] And to that end He shows, as we have said, that the number of those that shall believe, of the Jews and of the nations, is a great multitude which no man was able to number. Moreover, we read in the Gospel that the prayers of the church are sent from heaven by an angel, and that they are received against wrath, and that the kingdom of Antichrist is cast out and extinguished by holy angels; for He says: "Pray that ye enter not into temptation: for there shall be a great affliction, such as has not been from the beginning of the world; and except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved."[2] Therefore He shall send these seven great archangels to smite the kingdom of Antichrist; for He

[1] Mal. iv. 5, 6. [2] Mark xiii. 18–20.

Himself also thus said: "Then the Son of man shall send His messengers; and they shall gather together His elect from the four corners of the wind, from the one end of heaven even to the other end thereof."[1] For, moreover, He previously says by the prophet: "Then shall there be peace for our land, when there shall arise in it seven shepherds and eight attacks of men; and they shall encircle Assur," that is, Antichrist, "in the trench of Nimrod,"[2] that is, in the nation of the devil, by the spirit of the church. Similarly when the keepers of the house shall be moved. Moreover, the Lord Himself, in the parable to the apostles, when the labourers had come to Him and said, "Lord, did not we sow good seed in Thy field? whence, then, hath it tares? answered them, An enemy hath done this. And they said to Him, Lord, wilt Thou, then, that we go and root them up? And He said, Nay, but let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, that they gather the tares and make bundles of them, and burn them with fire everlasting, but that they gather the wheat into my barns."[3] The Apocalypse here shows, therefore, that these reapers, and shepherds, and labourers, are the angels. And the trumpet is the word of power. And although the same thing recurs in the phials, still it is not said as if it occurred twice, but because what is decreed by the Lord to happen shall be once for all; for this cause it is said twice. What, therefore, He said too little in the trumpets, is here found in the phials. We must not regard the order of what is said, because frequently the Holy Spirit, when He has traversed even to the end of the last times, returns again to the same times, and fills up what He had [before] failed to say. Nor must we look for order in the Apocalypse; but we must follow the meaning of those things which are prophesied. Therefore in the trumpets and phials is signified either the desolation of the plagues that are sent upon the earth, or the madness of Antichrist himself, or the cutting off of the peoples, or the diversity of the plagues, or the hope in the kingdom of the saints, or the ruin of

[1] Mark xiii. 27. [2] Mic. v. 5, 6. [3] Matt. xiii. 27–30.

states, or the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state.

9. "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man was able to number, of every nation, tribe, and people, and tongue, clothed with white robes."] What the great multitude out of every tribe implies, is to show the number of the elect out of all believers, who, being cleansed by baptism in the blood of the Lamb, have made their robes white, keeping the grace which they have received.

From the Eighth Chapter.

1. "And when He had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour."] Whereby is signified the beginning of everlasting rest; but it is described as partial, because the silence being interrupted, he repeats it in order. For if the silence had continued, here would be an end of his narrative.

13. "And I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven."] By the angel flying through the midst of heaven is signified the Holy Spirit bearing witness in two of the prophets that a great wrath of plagues was imminent. If by any means, even in the last times, any one should be willing to be converted, any one might even still be saved.

From the Ninth Chapter.

13, 14. "And I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is in the presence of God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels."] That is, the four corners of the earth which hold the four winds.

"Which are bound in the great river Euphrates."] By the corners of the earth, or the four winds across the river Euphrates, are [meant] four nations, because to every nation is sent an angel; as said the law, "He determined them by the number of the angels of God,"[1] until the number of the saints should be filled up. They do not overpass their bounds, because at the last they shall come with Antichrist.

[1] Deut. xxxii. 8.

From the Tenth Chapter.

1, 2. "I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire: and he had in his hand an open book: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth."] He signifies that that mighty angel who, he says, descended from heaven, clothed with a cloud, is our Lord, as we have above narrated.

"His face was as it were the sun."] That is, with respect to the resurrection.

"Upon his head was a rainbow."] He points to the judgment which is executed by Him, or shall be.

"An open book."] A revelation of works in the future judgment, or the Apocalypse which John received.

"His feet,"] as we have said above, are the apostles. For that both things in sea and land are trodden under foot by Him, signifies that all things are placed under His feet. Moreover, he calls Him an angel, that is, a messenger, to wit, of the Father; for He is called the Messenger of great counsel. He says also that He cried with a loud voice. The great voice is to tell the words of the Omnipotent God of heaven to men, and to bear witness that after [the gate of] penitence is closed there will be no hope subsequently.

3. "Seven thunders uttered their voices."] The seven thunders uttering their voices signify the Holy Spirit of sevenfold power, who through the prophets announced all things to come, and by His voice John gave his testimony in the world; but because he says that he was about to write the things which the thunders had uttered, that is, whatever things had been obscure in the announcements of the Old Testament; he is forbidden to write them, but he was charged to leave them sealed, because he is an apostle, nor was it fitting that the grace of the subsequent stage should be given in the first. "The time," says he, "is at hand."[1] For the apostles, by powers, by signs, by portents, and by mighty

[1] Rev. i. 3, xxii. 10.

works, have overcome unbelief. After them there is now given to the same completed churches the comfort of having the prophetic Scriptures subsequently interpreted, for I said that there would be interpreting prophets after [the apostles].

For the apostle says: "And he placed in the church indeed, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers,"[1] and the rest. And in another place he says: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge."[2] And he says: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head."[3] And when he says, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge," he is not speaking in respect of the catholic prophecy of things unheard and unknown, but of things both announced and known. But let them judge whether or not the interpretation is consistent with the testimonies of the prophetic utterance. It is plain, therefore, that to John, armed as he was with superior virtue, this was not necessary, although the body of Christ, which is the church, adorned with His members, ought to respond to its position.

10. "I took the book from the hand of the angel, and ate it up."] To take the book and eat it up, is, when exhibition of a thing is made to one, to commit it to memory.

"And it was in my mouth as sweet as honey."] To be sweet in the mouth is the reward of the preaching of the speaker, and is most pleasant to the hearers; but it is most bitter both to those that announce it, and to those that persevere in its commandments through suffering.

11. "And He says unto me, Thou must again prophesy to the peoples, and to the tongues, and to the nations, and to many kings."] He says this, because when John said these things he was in the island of Patmos, condemned to the labour of the mines by Cæsar Domitian. There, therefore, he saw the Apocalypse; and when at length grown old, he thought that he should receive his quittance by suffering, Domitian being killed, all his judgments were discharged. And John being dismissed from the mines, thus subsequently delivered the same Apocalypse which he had received from

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28. [2] 1 Cor. xiv. 24. [3] 1 Cor. xi. 5.

God. This, therefore, is what He says: Thou must again prophesy to all nations, because thou seest the crowds of Antichrist rise up; and against them other crowds shall stand, and they shall fall by the sword on the one side and on the other.

From the Eleventh Chapter.

1. "And there was shown unto me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein."] A reed was shown like to a rod. This itself is the Apocalypse which he subsequently exhibited to the churches; for the Gospel of the complete faith he subsequently wrote for the sake of our salvation. For when Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were scattered abroad throughout the world, there assembled together to him from the neighbouring provinces all the bishops, and compelled him himself also to draw up his testimony. Moreover, we say that the measure of God's temple is the command of God to confess the Father Almighty, and that His Son Christ was begotten by the Father before the beginning of the world, and was made man in very soul and flesh, both of them having overcome misery and death; and that, when received with His body into heaven by the Father, He shed forth the Holy Spirit, the gift and pledge of immortality, that He was announced by the prophets, He was described by the law, He was God's hand, and the Word of the Father from God, Lord over all, and founder of the world: this is the reed and the measure of faith; and no one worships the holy altar save he who confesses this faith.

2. "The court which is within the temple leave out."] The space which is called the court is the empty altar within the walls: these being such as were not necessary, he commanded to be ejected from the church.

"It is given to be trodden down by the Gentiles."] That is, to the men of this world, that it may be trodden under foot by the nations, or with the nations. Then he repeats about the destruction and slaughter of the last time, and says:—

3. "They shall tread the holy city down for forty and two months; and I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall predict a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth."] That is, three years and six months: these make forty-two months. Therefore their preaching is three years and six months, and the kingdom of Antichrist as much again.

5. "If any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies."] That fire proceedeth out of the mouth of those prophets against the adversaries, bespeaks the power of the word. For all afflictions, however many there are, shall be sent by their messengers in their word. Many think that there is Elisha, or Moses, with Elijah; but both of these died; while the death of Elijah is not heard of, with whom all our ancients have believed that it was Jeremiah. For even the very word spoken to him testifies to him, saying, "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations."[1] But he was not a prophet unto the nations; and thus the truthful word of God makes it necessary, which it has promised to set forth, that he should be a prophet to the nations.

4. "These are the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth."] These two candlesticks and two olive trees He has to this end spoken of, and admonished you that if, when you have read of them elsewhere, you have not understood, you may understand here. For in Zechariah, one of the twelve prophets, it is thus written: "These are the two olive trees and two candlesticks which stand in the presence of the Lord of the earth;"[2] that is, they are in paradise. Also, in another sense, standing in the presence of the lord of the earth, that is, in the presence of Antichrist. Therefore they must be slain by Antichrist.

7. "And the beast which ascendeth from the abyss."] After many plagues completed in the world, in the end he says that a beast ascended from the abyss. But that he

[1] Jer. i. 5. [2] Zech. iv. 14.

shall ascend from the abyss is proved by many testimonies; for he says in the thirty-first chapter of Ezekiel: "Behold, Assur was a cypress in Mount Lebanon." Assur, deeply rooted, was a lofty and branching cypress—that is, a numerous people—in Mount Lebanon, in the kingdom of kingdoms, that is, of the Romans. Moreover, that he says he was beautiful in offshoots, he says he was strong in armies. The water, he says, shall nourish him, that is, the many thousands of men which were subjected to him; and the abyss increased him, that is, belched him forth. For even Isaiah speaks almost in the same words; moreover, that he was in the kingdom of the Romans, and that he was among the Cæsars. The Apostle Paul also bears witness, for he says to the Thessalonians: "Let him who now restraineth restrain, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall appear that Wicked One, even he whose coming is after the working of Satan, with signs and lying wonders."[1] And that they might know that he should come who then was the prince, he added: "He already endeavours after the secret of mischief"[2]—that is, the mischief which he is about to do he strives to do secretly; but he is not raised up by his own power, nor by that of his father, but by command of God, of which thing Paul says in the same passage: "For this cause, because they have not received the love of God, He will send upon them a spirit of error, that they all may be persuaded of a lie, who have not been persuaded of the truth."[3] And Isaiah saith: "While they waited for the light, darkness arose upon them."[4] Therefore the Apocalypse sets forth that these prophets are killed by the same, and on the fourth day rise again, that none might be found equal to God.

8. "And their dead bodies shall lie in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt."] But He calls Jerusalem Sodom and Egypt, since it had become the heaping up of the persecuting people. Therefore it behoves us diligently, and with the utmost care, to follow the prophetic announcement, and to understand what the

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 7, 8, 9.
[2] 2 Thess. ii. 10.
[3] 2 Thess. ii. 11.
[4] Isa. lix. 9.

Spirit from the Father both announces and anticipates, and how, when He has gone forward to the last times, He again repeats the former ones. And now, what He will do once for all, He sometimes sets forth as if it were done; and unless you understand this as sometimes done, and sometimes as about to be done, you will fall into a great confusion. Therefore the interpretation of the following sayings has shown therein, that not the order of the reading, but the order of the discourse, must be understood.

19. "And the temple of God was opened which is in heaven."] The temple opened is a manifestation of our Lord. For the temple of God is the Son, as He Himself says: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." And when the Jews said, "Forty and six years was this temple in building," the evangelist says, "He spake of the temple of His body."[1]

"And there was seen in His temple the ark of the Lord's testament."] The preaching of the gospel and the forgiveness of sins, and all the gifts whatever that came with Him, he says, appeared therein.

From the Twelfth Chapter.

1. "And there was seen a great sign in heaven. A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child, she cried out travailing, and bearing torments that she might bring forth."] The woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet, and wearing a crown of twelve stars upon her head, and travailing in her pains, is the ancient church of fathers, and prophets, and saints, and apostles, which had the groans and torments of its longing until it saw that Christ, the fruit of its people according to the flesh long promised to it, had taken flesh out of the selfsame people. Moreover, being clothed with the sun intimates the hope of resurrection and the glory of the promise. And the moon intimates the fall of the bodies of the saints under the obligation of death, which never can fail. For even

[1] John ii. 19, 20, 21.

as life is diminished, so also it is increased. Nor is the hope of those that sleep extinguished absolutely, as some think, but they have in their darkness a light such as the moon. And the crown of twelve stars signifies the choir of fathers, according to the fleshly birth, of whom Christ was to take flesh.

3. "And there appeared another sign in heaven; and behold a red dragon, having seven heads."] Now, that he says that this dragon was of a red colour—that is, of a purple colour—the result of his work gave him such a colour. For from the beginning (as the Lord says) he was a murderer; and he has oppressed the whole of the human race, not so much by the obligation of death, as, moreover, by the various forms of destruction and fatal mischiefs. His seven heads were the seven kings of the Romans, of whom also is Antichrist, as we have said above.

"And ten horns."] He says that the ten kings in the latest times are the same as these, as we shall more fully set forth there.

4. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them upon the earth."] Now, that he says that the dragon's tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, this may be taken in two ways. For many think that he may be able to seduce the third part of the men who believe. But it should more truly be understood, that of the angels that were subject to him, since he was still a prince when he descended from his estate, he seduced the third part; therefore what we said above, the Apocalypse says.

"And the dragon stood before the woman who was beginning to bring forth, that, when she had brought forth, he might devour her child."] The red dragon standing and desiring to devour her child when she had brought him forth, is the devil,—to wit, the traitor angel, who thought that the perishing of all men would be alike by death; but He, who was not born of seed, owed nothing to death: wherefore he could not devour Him—that is, detain Him in death—for on the third day He rose again. Finally, also, and before He suffered, he approached to tempt Him as

man; but when he found that He was not what he thought Him to be, he departed from Him, even till the time. Whence it is here said:

5. "And she brought forth a son, who begins to rule all nations with a rod of iron."] The rod of iron is the sword of persecution.

"I saw that all men withdrew from his abodes."] That is, the good will be removed, flying from persecution.

"And her son was caught up to God, and to His throne."] We read also in the Acts of the Apostles that He was caught up to God's throne, just as speaking with the disciples He was caught up to heaven.

6. "But the woman fled into the wilderness, and there were given to her two great eagle's wings."] The aid of the great eagle's wings—to wit, the gift of prophets—was given to that catholic church, whence in the last times a hundred and forty-four thousands of men should believe on the preaching of Elias; but, moreover, he here says that the rest of the people should be found alive on the coming of the Lord. And the Lord says in the Gospel: "Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains;"[1] that is, as many as should be gathered together in Judea, let them go to that place which they have ready, and let them be supported there for three years and six months from the presence of the devil.

14. "Two great wings"] are the two prophets—Elias, and the prophet who shall be with him.

15. "And the serpent cast out of his mouth after the woman water as a flood, that he might carry her away with the flood."] He signifies by the water which the serpent cast out of his mouth, the people who at his command would persecute her.

16. "And the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth."] That the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the waters, sets forth the vengeance for the present troubles. Although, therefore, it may signify this

[1] Luke xxi. 21.

woman bringing forth, it shows her afterwards flying when her offspring is brought forth, because both things did not happen at one time; for we know that Christ was born, but that the time should arrive that she should flee from the face of the serpent: (we do not know) that this has happened as yet. Then he says:

7–9. "There was a battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought with the dragon; and the dragon warred, and his angels, and they prevailed not; nor was their place found any more in heaven. And that great dragon was cast forth, that old serpent: he was cast forth into the earth."] This is the beginning of Antichrist; yet previously Elias must prophesy, and there must be times of peace. And afterwards, when the three years and six months are completed in the preaching of Elias, he also must be cast down from heaven, where up till that time he had had the power of ascending; and all the apostate angels, as well as Antichrist, must be roused up from hell. Paul the apostle says: "Except there come a falling away first, and the man of sin shall appear, the son of perdition; and the adversary who exalted himself above all which is called God, or which is worshipped."[1]

From the Thirteenth Chapter.

1. "And I saw a beast rising up from the sea, like unto a leopard."] This signifies the kingdom of that time of Antichrist, and the people mingled with the variety of nations.

2. "His feet were as the feet of a bear."] A strong and most unclean beast, the feet are to be understood as his leaders.

"And his mouth as the mouth of a lion."] That is, his mouth armed for blood is his bidding, and a tongue which will proceed to nothing else than to the shedding of blood.

Rev. xvii. 9. "The seven heads are the seven hills, on which the woman sitteth."] That is, the city of Rome.

10. "And there are seven kings: five have fallen, and one

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

is, and the other is not yet come; and when he is come, he will be for a short time."] The time must be understood in which the written Apocalypse was published, since then reigned Cæsar Domitian; but before him had been Titus his brother, and Vespasian, Otho, Vitellius, and Galba. These are the five who have fallen. One remains, under whom the Apocalypse was written—Domitian, to wit. "The other has not yet come," speaks of Nerva; "and when he is come, he will be for a short time," for he did not complete the period of two years.

11. "And the beast which thou sawest is of the seven."] Since before those kings Nero reigned.

"And he is the eighth."] He says only when this beast shall come, reckon it the eighth place, since in that is the completion. He added:

"And shall go into perdition."] For that ten kings received royal power when he shall move from the east, he says. He shall be sent from the city of Rome with his armies. And Daniel sets forth the ten horns and the ten diadems. And that these are eradicated from the former ones,—that is, that three of the principal leaders are killed by Antichrist; that the other seven give him honour and wisdom and power, of whom he says:

16. "These shall hate the whore, to wit, the city, and shall burn her flesh with fire."] Now that one of the heads was, as it were, slain to death, and that the stroke of his death was directed, he speaks of Nero. For it is plain that when the cavalry sent by the senate was pursuing him, he himself cut his throat. Him therefore, when raised up, God will send as a worthy king, but worthy in such a way as the Jews merited. And since he is to have another name, He shall also appoint another name, that so the Jews may receive him as if he were the Christ. Says Daniel: "He shall not know the lust of women, although before he was most impure, and he shall know no God of his fathers: for he will not be able to seduce the people of the circumcision, unless he is a judge of the law."[1] Finally, also, he will

[1] Dan. xi. 37.

recall the saints, not to the worship of idols, but to undertake circumcision, and, if he is able, to seduce any; for he shall so conduct himself as to be called Christ by them. But that he rises again from hell, we have said above in the word of Isaiah: "Water shall nourish him, and hell hath increased him;" who, however, must come with name unchanged, and doings unchanged, as says the Spirit.

18. "His number is the name of a man, and his number is Six hundred threescore and six."] As they have it reckoned from the Greek characters, they thus find it among many to be τειταν, for τειταν has this number, which the Gentiles call Sol and Phœbus; and it is reckoned in Greek thus: τ three hundred, ε five, ι ten, τ three hundred, α one, ν fifty,—which taken together become six hundred and sixty-six: for as far as belongs to the Greek letters, they fill up this number and name; which name if you wish to turn into Latin, it is understood by the antiphrase DICLUX, which letters are reckoned in this manner: since D figures five hundred, I one, C a hundred, L fifty, V five, X ten,—which by the reckoning up of the letters makes similarly six hundred and sixty-six, that is, what in Greek gives τειταν, to wit, what in Latin is called DICLUX; by which name, expressed by antiphrases, we understand Antichrist, who, although he be cut off from the supernal light, and deprived thereof, yet transforms himself into an angel of light, daring to call himself light. Moreover, we find in a certain Greek codex αντεμος, which letters being reckoned up, you will find to give the number as above: α one, ν fifty, τ three hundred, ε five, μ forty, ο seventy, ς two hundred,—which together makes six hundred and sixty-six, according to the Greeks. Moreover, there is another name in Gothic of him, which will be evident of itself, that is, γενσήρικος, which in the same way you will reckon in Greek letters: γ three, ε five, ν fifty, σ two hundred, η eight, ρ a hundred, ι ten, κ twenty, ο seventy, ς also two hundred, which, as has been said above, make six hundred and sixty-six.

11. "And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth."] He is speaking of the great and false prophet who is to do

signs, and portents, and falsehoods before him in the presence of men.

"And he had two horns like a lamb—that is, the appearance within of a man—and he spoke like a dragon."] But the devil speaks full of malice; for he shall do these things in the presence of men, so that even the dead appear to rise again.

13. "And he shall make fire come down from heaven in the sight of men."] Yes (as I also have said), in the sight of men. Magicians do these things, by the aid of the apostate angels, even to this day. He shall cause also that a golden image of Antichrist shall be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, and that the apostate angel should enter, and thence utter voices and oracles. Moreover, he himself shall contrive that his servants and children should receive as a mark on their foreheads, or on their right hands, the number of his name, lest any one should buy or sell them. Daniel had previously predicted his contempt and provocation of God. "And he shall place," says he, "his temple within Samaria, upon the illustrious and holy mountain that is at Jerusalem, an image such as Nebuchadnezzar had made."[1] Thence here he places, and by and by here he renews, that of which the Lord, admonishing His churches concerning the last times and their dangers, says: "But when ye shall see the contempt which is spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place, let him who readeth understand."[2] It is called a contempt when God is provoked, because idols are worshipped instead of God, or when the dogma of heretics is introduced in the churches. But it is a turning away because stedfast men, seduced by false signs and portents, are turned away from their salvation.

From the Fourteenth Chapter.

6. "And I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven."] The angel flying through the midst of heaven, whom he says that he saw, we have already treated of above, as being the same Elias who anticipates the kingdom of Antichrist in his prophecy.

[1] Dan. xi. 45. [2] Matt. xxiv. 15; Dan. ix. 27.

8. "And another angel following him."] The other angel following, he speaks of as the same prophet who is the associate of his prophesying. But that he says,

15. "Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather in the grapes of the vine,"] he signifies it of the nations that should perish on the advent of the Lord. And indeed in many forms he shows this same thing, as if to the dry harvest, and the seed for the coming of the Lord, and the consummation of the world, and the kingdom of Christ, and the future appearance of the kingdom of the blessed.

19, 20. "And the angel thrust in the sickle, and reaped the vine of the earth, and cast it into the wine-press of the wrath of God. And the wine-press of His fury was trodden down without the city."] That he says that it was cast into the wine-press of the wrath of God, and trodden down without the city, the treading of the wine-press is the retribution on the sinner.

"And blood went out from the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles."] The vengeance of shed blood, as was before predicted, "In blood thou hast sinned, and blood shall follow thee."[1]

"For a thousand and six hundred furlongs."] That is, through all the four parts of the world: for there is a quadrate put together by fours, as in four faces and four appearances, and wheels by fours; for forty times four is one thousand six hundred. Repeating the same persecution, the Apocalypse says:

From the Fifteenth Chapter.

1. "And I saw another great and wonderful sign, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is completed the indignation of God."] For the wrath of God always strikes the obstinate people with seven plagues, that is, perfectly, as it is said in Leviticus; and these shall be in the last time, when the church shall have gone out of the midst.

2. "Standing upon the sea of glass, having harps."] That

[1] Ezek. xxxv. 6.

is, that they stood stedfastly in the faith upon their baptism, and having their confession in their mouth, that they shall exult in the kingdom before God. But let us return to what is set before us.

From the Seventeenth Chapter.

1–6. "There came one of the seven angels, which have the seven bowls, and spake with me, saying, Come, I will show thee the judgment of that great whore who sitteth upon many waters. And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs."] The decrees of that senate are always accomplished against all, contrary to the preaching of the true faith; and now already mercy being cast aside, itself here gave the decree among all nations.

3. "And I saw the woman herself sitting upon the scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy."] But to sit upon the scarlet beast, the author of murders, is the image of the devil. Where also [is treated] of his captivity, concerning which we have fully considered. I remember, indeed, that this is called Babylon also in the Apocalypse, on account of confusion; and in Isaiah also; and Ezekiel called it Sodom. In fine, if you compare what is said against Sodom, and what Isaiah says against Babylon, and what the Apocalypse says, you will find that they are all one.

From the Nineteenth Chapter.

11. "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sate upon him was called Faithful and True."] The horse, and He that sits upon him, sets forth our Lord coming to His kingdom with the heavenly army. Because from the sea of the north, which is the Arabian Sea, even to the sea of Phœnice, and even to the ends of the earth, they will command these greater parts in the coming of the Lord Jesus, and all the souls of the nations will be assembled to judgment.

From the Twentieth Chapter.

1–3. "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And

he held the dragon, that old serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and cast him into the abyss, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be finished: after this he must be loosed a little season."] Those years wherein Satan is bound are in the first advent of Christ, even to the end of the age; and they are called a thousand, according to that mode of speaking, wherein a part is signified by the whole, just as is that passage, "the word which He commanded for a thousand generations,"[1] although they are not a thousand. Moreover, that he says, "and he cast him into the abyss," he says this, because the devil, excluded from the hearts of believers, began to take possession of the wicked, in whose hearts, blinded day by day, he is shut up as if in a profound abyss. And he shut him up, says he, and put a seal upon him, that he should not deceive the nations until the thousand years should be finished. "He shut the door upon him," it is said, that is, he forbade and restrained his seducing those who belong to Christ. Moreover, he put a seal upon him, because it is hidden who belong to the side of the devil, and who to that of Christ. For we know not of those who seem to stand whether they shall not fall, and of those who are down it is uncertain whether they may rise. Moreover, that he says that he is bound and shut up, that he may not seduce the nations, the nations signify the church, seeing that of them it itself is formed, and which being seduced, he previously held until, he says, the thousand years should be completed, that is, what is left of the sixth day, to wit, of the sixth age, which subsists for a thousand years; after this he must be loosed for a little season. The little season signifies three years and six months, in which with all his power the devil will avenge himself under Antichrist against the church. Finally, he says, after that the devil shall be loosed, and will seduce the nations in the whole world, and will entice war against the church, the number of whose foes shall be as the sand of the sea.

[1] Ps. cv. 8.

4, 5. "And I saw thrones, and them that sate upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and [I saw] the souls of them that were slain on account of the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his writing on their forehead or in their hand; and they reigned with Christ for a thousand years: the rest of them lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection."] There are two resurrections. But the first resurrection is now of the souls that are by the faith, which does not permit men to pass over to the second death. Of this resurrection the apostle says: "If ye have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above."[1]

6. "Blessed and holy is he who has part in this resurrection: on them the second death shall have no power, but they shall be priests of God and Christ, and they shall reign with Him a thousand years."] I do not think the reign of a thousand years is eternal; or if it is thus to be thought of, they cease to reign when the thousand years are finished. But I will put forward what my capacity enables me to judge. The tenfold number signifies the decalogue, and the hundredfold sets forth the crown of virginity: for he who shall have kept the undertaking of virginity completely, and shall have faithfully fulfilled the precepts of the decalogue, and shall have destroyed the untrained nature or impure thoughts within the retirement of the heart, that they may not rule over him, this is the true priest of Christ, and accomplishing the millenary number thoroughly, is thought to reign with Christ; and truly in his case the devil is bound. But he who is entangled in the vices and the dogmas of heretics, in his case the devil is loosed. But that it says that when the thousand years are finished he is loosed, so the number of the perfect saints being completed, in whom there is the glory of virginity in body and mind, by the approaching advent of the kingdom of the hateful one, many, seduced by that love of earthly things, shall be overthrown, and together with him shall enter the lake of fire.

[1] Col. iii. 1.

8–10. "And they went up upon the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil who seduced them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where both the beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."] This belongs to the last judgment. And after a little time the earth was made holy, as being at least that wherein lately had reposed the bodies of the virgins, when they shall enter upon an eternal kingdom with an immortal King, as they who are not only virgins in body, but, moreover, with equal inviolability have protected themselves, both in tongue and thought, from wickedness; and these, it shows, shall dwell in rejoicing for ever with the Lamb.

From the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Chapters.

16. "And the city is placed in a square."] The city which he says is squared, he says also is resplendent with gold and precious stones, and has a sacred street, and a river through the midst of it, and the tree of life on either side, bearing twelve manner of fruits throughout the twelve months; and that the light of the sun is not there, because the Lamb is the light of it; and that its gates were of single pearls; and that there were three gates on each of the four sides, and that they could not be shut. I say, in respect of the square city, he shows forth the united multitude of the saints, in whom the faith could by no means waver. As Noah is commanded to make the ark of squared beams,[1] that it might resist the force of the deluge, by the precious stones he sets forth the holy men who cannot waver in persecution, who could not be moved either by the tempest of persecutors, or be dissolved from the true faith by the force of the rain, because they are associated of pure gold, of whom the city of the great King is adorned. Moreover, the streets set forth their hearts purified from all uncleanness, transparent with glowing light, that the Lord may justly walk up and down in them. The river of life sets forth that the grace

[1] Gen. vi. 14, LXX.

of spiritual doctrine flowed through the minds of the faithful, and that manifold flourishing forms of odours germinated therein. The tree of life on either bank sets forth the advent of Christ according to the flesh, who satisfied the peoples wasted with famine, received life from One by the wood of the cross with the announcement of God's word. And that he says that in the city the sun is not necessary, evidently shows that the Creator, as the immaculate light, shines in the midst of it, whose brightness no mind has been able to conceive nor tongue to tell. In that he says there are three gates placed on each of the four sides, of single pearls, I think that these are the four virtues,—to wit, prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance, which are associated with one another. And being involved together, they make the number twelve. But the twelve gates we believe to be the number of the apostles, who, shining in the four virtues as precious stones, manifesting the light of their doctrine among the saints, cause it to enter the celestial city, that by intercourse with them the choir of angels may be gladdened. And that the gates cannot be shut, is evidently shown that by no tempest of contradiction can the doctrine of the apostles be separated from rectitude. Even though the floods of the nations and the vain superstitions of heretics should revolt against their true faith, they are overcome, and shall be dissolved as the foam, because Christ is the rock by which and on which the church is founded. And thus it is overcome by no traces of maddened men. Therefore they are not to be heard who assure themselves that there is to be an earthly reign of a thousand years, who think with the heretic Cerinthus. For the kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints, although the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the resurrection.

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF COMMODIANUS

IN FAVOUR OF

CHRISTIAN DISCIPLINE,

AGAINST THE GODS OF THE HEATHENS.

(EXPRESSED IN ACROSTICS.)

1. *Preface.*

MY preface sets forth the way to the wanderer, and a good visitation when the goal of life shall have come, that he may become eternal—a thing which ignorant hearts disbelieve. I in like manner have wandered for a long time, by giving attendance upon [heathen] fanes, my parents themselves being ignorant. Thence at length I withdrew myself by reading concerning the law. I bear witness to the Lord; I grieve: alas, the crowd of citizens! ignorant what it loses in going to seek vain gods. Thoroughly taught by these things, I instruct the ignorant in the truth.

2. *God's indignation.*

In the law, the Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea has commanded, saying, Worship not vain gods made by your own hands out of wood or gold, lest my wrath destroy you for such things. The people before Moses, unskilled, abiding without law, and ignorant of God, prayed to gods that perished, after the likenesses of which they fashioned vain idols. The Lord having brought the Jews out of the land of Egypt, subsequently imposed on them a law; and the Omnipotent enjoined these things, that they should serve

Him alone, and not those idols. Moreover, in that law is taught concerning the resurrection, and the hope of living in happiness again in the world, if vain idols be forsaken and not worshipped.

3. *The worship of demons.*

When Almighty God, to beautify the nature of the world, willed that that earth should be visited by angels, when they were sent down they despised His laws. Such was the beauty of women, that it turned them aside; so that, being contaminated, they could not return to heaven. Rebels from God, they uttered words against Him. Then the Highest uttered His judgment against them; and from their seed giants are said to have been born. By them arts were made known in the earth, and they taught the dyeing of wool, and everything which is done; and to them, when they died, men erected images. But the Almighty, because they were of an evil seed, did not approve that, when dead, they should be brought back from death. Whence wandering they now subvert many bodies, and it is such as these especially that ye this day worship and pray to as gods.

4. *Saturn.*

And Saturn the old, if he is a god, how does he grow old? Or if he was a god, why was he driven by his terrors to devour his children? But because he was not a god, he consumed the bowels of his sons in a monstrous madness. He was a king upon earth, born in the mount Olympus; and he was not divine, but called himself a god. He fell into weakness of mind, and swallowed a stone for his son. Thus he became a god; of late he is called Jupiter.

5. *Jupiter.*

This Jupiter was born to Saturn in the island of Breta; and when he was grown up, he deprived his father of the kingdom. He then deluded the wives and sisters of the nobles. Moreover, Pyracmon, a smith, had made for him a sceptre. In the beginning God made the heaven, the earth,

and the sea. But that frightful creature, born in the midst of time, went forth as a youth from a cave, and was nourished by stealth. Behold, that God is the author of all things, not that Jupiter.

6. *Of the same Jupiter's thunderbolt.*

Ye say, O fools, Jupiter thunders. It is he that hurls thunderbolts; and if it was childishness that thought thus, why for two hundred years have ye been babies? And will ye still be so always? Infancy is passed into maturity, old age does not enjoy trifles, the age of boyhood has departed; let the mind of youth in like manner depart. Your thoughts ought to belong to the character of men. Thou art then a fool, to believe that it is Jupiter that thunders. He, born on the earth, is nourished with goats' milk. Therefore if Saturn had devoured him, who was it in those times that sent rain when he was dead? Especially, if a god may be thought to be born of a mortal father, Saturn grew old on the earth, and on the earth he died. There was none that predicted his previous birth. Or if he thunders, the law would have been given by him. The stories that the poets feign seduce you. He, however, reigned in Crete, and there died. He who to you is the Almighty became Alcmena's lover; he himself would in like manner be in love with living men now if he were alive. Ye pray to unclean gods, and ye call them heavenly who are born of mortal seed from those giants. Ye hear and ye read that he was born in the earth: whence was it that that corrupter so well deserved to ascend into heaven? And the Cyclopes are said to have forged him a thunderbolt; for though he was immortal, he received arms from mortals. Ye have conveyed to heaven by your authority one guilty of so many crimes, and, moreover, a parricide of his own relations.

7. *Of the Septizonium and the Stars.*

Your want of intelligence deceives you concerning the circle of the zone, and perchance from that you find out that you must pray to Jupiter. Saturn is told of there, but

it is as a star, for he was driven forth by Jupiter, or let Jupiter be believed to be in the star. He who controlled the constellations of the pole, and the sower of the soil; he who made war with the Trojans, he loved the beautiful Venus. Or among the stars themselves Mars was caught with her by married jealousy: he is called the youthful god. Oh excessively foolish, to think that those who are born of Maia rule from the stars, or that they rule the entire nature of the world! Subjected to wounds, and themselves living under the dominion of the fates, obscene, inquisitive, warriors of an impious life; and they made sons, equally mortal with themselves, and were all terrible, foolish, strong, in the sevenfold girdle. If ye worship the stars, worship also the twelve signs [*scil.* of the zodiac], as well the ram, the bull, the twins, as the fierce lion; and finally, they go on into fishes,—cook them and you will prove them. A law without law is your refuge: what wishes to be, will prevail. A woman desires to be wanton; she seeks to live without restraint. Ye yourselves will be what ye wish for, and pray to as gods and goddesses. Thus I worshipped while I went astray, and now I condemn it.

8. *Of the Sun and Moon.*

Concerning the Sun and Moon ye are in error, although they are in our immediate presence; in that ye, as I formerly did, think that you must pray to them. They, indeed, are among the stars; but they do not run of their own accord. The Omnipotent, when He established all things at first, placed them there with the stars, on the fourth day. . . . And, indeed, He commanded in the law that none should worship them. Ye worship so many gods who promise nothing concerning life, whose law is not on the earth, nor are they themselves foretold. But a few priests seduce you, who say that any deity destined to die can be of service. Draw near now, read, and learn the truth.

9. *Mercury.*

Let your Mercury be depicted with a Saraballum, and

with wings on his helmet or his cap, and in other respects naked. I see a marvellous thing, a god flying with a little satchel. Run, poor creatures, with your lap spread open when he flies, that he may pour forth [the contents of] his satchel: do ye from thence be prepared. Look on the painted one, since he will thus cast you money from on high: then dance ye securely. Vain man, art thou not mad, to worship painted gods in heaven? If thou knowest not how to live, continue to dwell with the beasts.

10. *Neptune.*

Ye make Neptune a god descended from Saturn; and he wields a trident that he may spear the fishes. It is plain by his being thus provided that he is a sea-god. Did not he himself with Apollo raise up walls for the Trojans? How did that poor stone-mason become a god? Did not he beget the cyclop monster? And was he himself when dead unable to live again, though his structure admitted of this?[1] Thus begotten, he begot who was already once dead.

11. *Apollo the soothsaying and false.*

Ye make Apollo a player on the cithara, and divine. Born at first of Maia, in the isle of Delos, subsequently, for offered wages, a builder, obeying the king Laomedon, he reared the walls of the Trojans. And he established himself, and ye are seduced into thinking him a god, in whose bones the love of Cassandra burned, whom the virgin craftily sported with, and, though a divine being, he is deceived. By his office of augur he was able to know the double-hearted one. Moreover rejected, he, though divine, departed thence. Him the virgin burnt up with her beauty, whom he ought to have burnt up; while she ought first of all to have loved the god who thus lustfully began to love Daphne, and still follows her up, wishing to violate the maid. The fool loves in vain. Nor can he obtain her by running. Surely, if he were a god, he would come up with her through the air. She first came under the roof, and the divine being remained

[1] We have changed *marhus et* into *mortuus*, and *de suo* into *denuo*.

outside. The race of men deceive you, for they were of a sad way of life. Moreover, he is said to have fed the cattle of Admetus. While in imposed sports he threw the quoit into the air, he could not restrain it as it fell, and it killed his friend. That was the last day of his companion Hyacinthus. Had he been divine, he would have foreknown the death of his friend.

12. *Father Liber—Bacchus.*

Ye yourselves say that Father Liber was assuredly twice begotten. First of all he was born in India of Proserpine and Jupiter, and waging war against the Titans, when his blood was shed, he expired even as one of mortal men. Again restored from his death, in another womb Semele conceived him again of Jupiter, a second Maia, whose womb being divided, he is taken away near to birth from his dead mother, and as a nursling is given to be nourished to Nisus. From this being twice born he is called Dionysus; and his religion is falsely observed in vanity; and they celebrate his orgies such that now they themselves seem to be either foolhardy or burlesquers of Mimnermomerus. They conspire in evil; they practise beforehand with pretended heat, that they may deceive others into saying that a deity is present. Hence you manifestly see men living a life like his, violently excited with the wine which he himself had pressed out; they have given him divine honour in the midst of their drunken excess.

13. *The unconquered one.*

The unconquered one was born from a rock, if he is regarded as a god. Now tell us, then, on the other hand, which is the first of these two. The rock has overcome the god: then the creator of the rock has to be sought after. Moreover, you still depict him also as a thief; although, if he were a god, he certainly did not live by theft. Assuredly he was of earth, and of a monstrous nature. And he turned other people's oxen into his caves; just as did Cacus, that son of Vulcan.

14. *Sylvanus.*

Whence, again, has Sylvanus appeared to be a god? Perhaps it is agreeable [so to call him] from this, that the pipe sings sweetly because he bestows the wood; for, perhaps, it might not be so. Thou hast bought a venal master, when thou shalt have bought from him. Behold the wood fails! What is due to him? Art thou not ashamed, O fool, to adore such pictures? Seek one God who will allow you to live after death. Depart from such as have become dead in life.

15. *Hercules.*

Hercules, because he destroyed the monster of the Aventine Mount, who had been wont to steal the herds of Evander, [is a god]: the rustic mind of men, untaught also, when they wished to return thanks instead of praise to the absent thunderer, senselessly vowed victims as to a god to be besought, they made milky altars as a memorial to themselves. Thence it arises that he is worshipped in the ancient manner. But he is no god, although he was strong in arms.

16. *Of the gods and goddesses.*

Ye say that they are gods who are plainly cruel, and ye say that genesis assigns the fates to you. Now, then, say to whom first of all sacred rites are paid. Between the ways on either side immature death is straying. If the fates give the generations, why do you pray to the god? Thou art vainly deceived who art seeking to beseech the manes, and thou namest them to be lords over thee who are fabricated. Or, moreover, I know not what women you pray to as goddesses—Bellona and Nemesis the goddesses, together with the celestial Fury, the Virgins and Venus, for whom your wives are weak in the loins. Besides, there are in the fanes other demons which are not as yet numbered, and are worn on the neck, so that they themselves cannot give to themselves an account. Plagues ought rather to be exported to the ends of the earth.

17. *Of their images.*

A few wicked and empty poets delude you; while they seek with difficulty to procure their living, they adorn falsehood to be for others under the guise of mystery. Thence feigning to be smitten by some deity, they sing of his majesty, and weary themselves under his form. Ye have often seen the Dindymarii, with what a din they enter upon luxuries while they seek to feign the furies, or when they strike their backs with the filthy axe, although with their teaching they keep what they heal by their blood. Behold in what name they do not compel those who first of all unite themselves to them with a sound mind. But that they may take away a gift, they seek such minds. Thence see how all things are feigned. They cast a shadow over a simple people, lest they should believe, while they perish, the thing once for all proceeded in vanity from antiquity, that a prophet who uttered false things might be believed; but their majesty has spoken nought.

18. *Of Ammydates and the great God.*

We have already said many things of an abominable superstition, and yet we follow up the subject, lest we should be said to have passed anything over. And the worshippers worshipped their Ammydates after their manner. He was great to them when there was gold in the temple. They placed their heads under his power, as if he were present. It came to the highest point that Cæsar took away the gold. The deity failed, or fled, or passed away into fire. The author of this wickedness is manifest who formed this same god, and falsely prophesying seduces so many and so great men, and only was silent about Him who was accustomed to be divine. For voices broke forth, as if with a changed mind, as if the wooden god were speaking into his ear. Say now yourselves if they are not false deities? From that prodigy how many has that prophet destroyed? He forgot to prophesy who before was accustomed to prophesy; so those prodigies are feigned among those who are greedy of wine, whose

damnable audacity feigns deities, for they were carried about, and such an image was dried up. For both he himself is silent, and no one prophesies concerning him at all. But ye wish to ruin yourselves.

19. *Of the vain Nemesiaci.*

Is it not ignominy, that a prudent man should be seduced and worship such a one, or say that a log is Diana? You trust a man who in the morning is drunk, costive, and ready to perish, who by art speaks falsely what is seen by him. While he lives strictly, he feeds on his own bowels. One detestable one defiles all the citizens; and he has attached to himself—a similar gathering being made—those with whom he feigns the history, that he may adorn a god. He is ignorant how to prophesy for himself; for others he dares it. He places it on his shoulder when he pleases, and again he places it down. Whirling round, he is turned by himself with the tree of the two-forked one, as if you would think that he was inspired with the deity of the wood. Ye do not worship the gods whom they themselves falsely announce; ye worship the priests themselves, fearing them vainly. But if thou art strong in heart, flee at once from the shrines of death.

20. *The Titans.*

Ye say that the Titans are to you *Tutans*. Ye ask that these fierce ones should be silent under your roof, as so many Lares, shrines, images made like to a Titan. For ye foolishly adore those who have died by an evil death, not reading their own law. They themselves speak not, and ye dare to call them gods who are melted out of a brazen vessel; ye should rather melt them into little vessels for yourselves.

21. *The Montesiani.*

Ye call the mountains also gods. Let them rule in gold, darkened by evil, and aiding with an averted mind. For if a pure spirit and a serene mind remained to you, thou thyself ought to examine for thyself concerning them. Thou art

become senseless as a man, if thou thinkest that these can save thee, whether they rule or whether they cease. If thou seekest anything healthy, seek rather the righteousness of the law, that brings the help of salvation, and says that you are becoming eternal. For what you shall follow in vanity rejoices you for a time. Thou art glad for a brief space, and afterwards bewailest in the depths. Withdraw thyself from these, if thou wilt rise again with Christ.

22. *The dulness of the age.*

Alas, I grieve, citizens, that ye are thus blinded by the world. One runs to the lot; another gazes on the birds; another, having shed the blood of bleating animals, calls forth the manes, and credulously desires to hear vain responses. When so many leaders and kings have taken counsel concerning life, what benefit has it been to them to have known even its portents? Learn, I beg you, citizens, what is good; beware of idol-fanes. Seek, indeed, all of you, in the law of the Omnipotent. Thus it has pleased the Lord of lords Himself in the heavens, that demons should wander in the world for our discipline. And yet, on the other hand, He has sent out His mandates, that they who forsake their altars shall become inhabitants of heaven. Whence I am not careful to argue this in a small treatise. The law teaches; it calls on you in your midst. Consider for yourselves. Ye have entered upon two roads; decide upon the right one.

23. *Of those who are everywhere ready.*

While thou obeyest the belly, thou sayest that thou art innocent; and, as if courteously, makest thyself everywhere ready. Woe to thee, foolish man! thou thyself lookest around upon death. Thou seekest in a barbarous fashion to live without law. Thou thyself hymnest thyself also to play upon a word, who feignest thyself simple. I live in simplicity with such a one. Thou believest that thou livest, whilst thou desirest to fill thy belly. To sit down disgracefully of no account in thy house, ready for feasting, and to run away

from precepts. Or because thou believest not that God will judge the dead, thou foolishly makest thyself ruler of heaven instead of Him. Thou regardest thy belly as if thou canst provide for it. Thou seemest at one time to be profane, at another to be holy. Thou appearest as a suppliant of God, under the aspect of a tyrant. Thou shalt feel in thy fates by whose law thou art aided.

24. *Of those who live between the two.*

Thou who thinkest that, by living doubtfully between the two, thou art on thy guard, goest on thy way stript of law, broken down by luxury. Thou art looking forward vainly to so many things, why seekest thou unjust things? And whatever thou hast done shall there remain to thee when dead. Consider, thou foolish one, thou wast not, and lo, thou art seen. Thou knowest not whence thou hast proceeded, nor whence thou art nourished. Thou avoidest the excellent and benignant God of thy life, and thy Governor, who would rather wish thee to live. Thou turnest thyself to thyself, and givest thy back to God. Thou drownest thyself in darkness, whilst thou thinkest thou art abiding in light. Why runnest thou in the synagogue to the Pharisees, that He may become merciful to thee, whom thou of thy own accord deniest? Thence thou goest abroad again; thou seekest healthful things. Thou wishest to live between both ways, but thence thou shalt perish. And, moreover, thou sayest, Who is He who has redeemed from death, that we may believe in Him, since there punishments are awarded? Ah! not thus, O malignant man, shall it be as thou thinkest. For to him who has lived well there is advantage after death. Thou, however, when one day thou diest, shalt be taken away in an evil place. But them who believe in Christ shall be led into a good place, and those to whom that delight is given are caressed; but to you who are of a double mind, against you is punishment without the body. The course of the tormentor stirs you up to cry out against your brother.

25. *They who fear and will not believe.*

How long, O foolish man, wilt thou not acknowledge Christ? Thou avoidest the fertile field, and castest thy seeds on the sterile one. Thou seekest to abide in the wood where the thief is delaying. Thou sayest, I also am of God; and thou wanderest out of doors. Now at length, after so many invitations, enter within the palace. Now is the harvest ripe, and the time so many times prepared. Lo, now reap! What! dost thou not repent? Thence now, if thou hast not, gather the seasonable wines. The time of believing to life is present in the time of death. The first law of God is the foundation of the subsequent law. Thee, indeed, it assigned to believe in the second law. Nor are threats from Himself, but from it, powerful over thee. Now astounded, swear that thou wilt believe in Christ; for the Old Testament proclaims concerning Him. For it is needful only to believe in Him who was dead, to be able to rise again to live for all time. Therefore, if thou art one who disbelievest that these things shall be, at length he shall be overcome in his guilt in the second death. I will declare things to come in few words in this little treatise. In it can be known when hope must be preferred. Still I exhort you as quickly as possible to believe in Christ.

26. *To those who resist the law of Christ the living God.*

Thou rejectest, unhappy one, the advantage of heavenly discipline, and rushest into death while wishing to stray without a bridle. Luxury and the shortlived joys of the world are ruining thee, whence thou shalt be tormented in hell for all time. They are vain joys with which thou art foolishly delighted. Do not these make thee to be a man dead? Cannot thirty years at length make thee a wise man? Ignorant how thou hast first strayed, look upon ancient time, thou thinkest now to enjoy here a joyous life in the midst of wrongs. These are the ruins of thy friends, wars, or wicked frauds, thefts with bloodshed: the body is vexed with sores, and groaning and wailing is indulged;

whether a slight disease invade thee, or thou art held down by long sickness, or thou art bereaved of thy children, or thou mournest over a lost wife. All is a wilderness: alas, dignities are hurried down from their height by vices and poverty; doubly so, assuredly, if thou languishest long. And callest thou it life when this life of glass is mortal? Consider now at length that this time is of no avail, but in the future you have hope without the craft of living. Certainly the little children which have been snatched away desired to live. Moreover, the young men who have been deprived of life, perchance were preparing to grow old, and they themselves were making ready to enjoy joyful days; and yet we unwillingly lay aside all things in the world. I have delayed with a perverse mind, and I have thought that the life of this world was a true one; and I judged that death would come in like manner as ye did—that when once life had departed, the soul also was dead and perished. These things, however, are not so; but the Founder and Author of the world has certainly required the brother slain by a brother. Impious man, say, said He, where is thy brother? and he denied. For the blood of thy brother has cried aloud to me to heaven. Thou are tormented, I see, when thou thoughtest to feel nothing; but he lives and occupies the place on the right hand. He enjoys delights which thou, O wicked one, hast lost; and when thou hast called back the world, he also has gone before, and will be immortal: for thou shalt wail in hell. Certainly God lives, who makes the dead to live, that He may give worthy rewards to the innocent and to the good; but to the fierce and impious, cruel hell. Commence, O thou who art led away, to perceive the judgments of God.

27. *O fool, thou dost not die to God.*

O fool, thou dost not absolutely die; nor, when dead, dost thou escape the lofty One. Although thou shouldst arrange that when dead thou perceivest nothing, thou shalt foolishly be overcome. God the Creator of the world liveth, whose laws cry out that the dead are in existence. But thou,

whilst recklessly thou seekest to live without God, judgest that in death is extinction, and thinkest that it is absolute. God has not ordered it as thou thinkest, that the dead are forgetful of what they have previously done. Now has the governor made for us receptacles of death, and after our ashes we shall behold them. Thou art stripped, O foolish one, who thinkest that by death thou art not, and hast made thy Ruler and Lord to be able to do nothing. But death is not a mere vacuity, if thou reconsiderest in thine heart. Thou mayest know that He is to be desired, for late thou shalt perceive Him. Thou wast the ruler of the flesh; certainly flesh ruled not thee. Freed from it, the former is buried; thou art here. Rightly is mortal man separated from the flesh. Therefore mortal eyes will not be able to be equalled [to divine things]. Thus our depth keeps us from the secret of God. Give thou now, whilst in weakness thou art dying, the honour to God, and believe that Christ will bring thee back living from the dead. Thou oughtest to give praises in the church to the omnipotent One.

28. *The righteous rise again.*

Righteousness and goodness, peace and true patience, and care concerning one's deeds, make to live after death. But a crafty mind, mischievous, perfidious, evil, destroys itself by degrees, and delays in a cruel death. O wicked man, hear now what thou gainest by thy evil deeds. Look on the judges of earth, who now in the body torture with terrible punishments; either chastisements are prepared for the deserving by the sword, or to weep in a long imprisonment. Dost thou, last of all, hope to laugh at the God of heaven and the Ruler of the sky, by whom all things were made? Thou ragest, thou art mad, and now thou takest away the name of God, from whom, moreover, thou shalt not escape; and He will award punishments according to your deeds. Now I would have you be cautious that thou come not to the burning of fire. Give thyself up at once to Christ, that goodness may attend thee.

29. *To the wicked and unbelieving rich man.*

Thou wilt, O rich man, by insatiably looking too much to all thy wealth, squander those things to which thou art still seeking to cling. Thou sayest, I do not hope when dead to live after such things as these. O ungrateful to the great God, who thus judgest thyself to be a god; to Him who, when thou knewest nothing of it, brought thee forth, and then nourished thee. He governs thy meadows; He, thy vineyards; He, thy herd of cattle; and He, whatever thou possessest. Nor dost thou give heed to these things; or thou, perchance, rulest all things. He who made the sky, and the earth, and the salt seas, decreed to give us back again ourselves in a golden age. And only if thou believest, thou livest in the secret of God. Learn God, O foolish man, who wishes thee to be immortal, that thou mayest give Him eternal thanks in thy struggle. His own law teaches thee; but since thou seekest to wander, thou disbelievest all things, and thence thou shalt go into hell. By and by thou givest up thy life; thou shalt be taken where it grieveth thee to be: there the spiritual punishment, which is eternal, is undergone; there are always wailings: nor dost thou absolutely die therein—there at length too late proclaiming the omnipotent God.

30. *Rich men, be humble.*

Learn, O thou who art about to die, to show thyself good to all. Why, in the midst of the people, makest thou thyself to be another [than thou art]? Thou goest where thou knowest not, and ignorantly thence thou departest. Thou managest wickedly with thy very body; thou thirstest always after riches. Thou exaltest thyself too much on high; and thou bearest pride, and dost not willingly look on the poor. Now ye do not even feed your parents themselves when placed under you. Ah, wretched men, let ordinary men flee far from you. He lived, and I have destroyed him; the poor man cries out εὕρηκα. By and by thou shalt be driven with the furies of Charybdis, when thou thyself dost

perish. Thus ye rich men are undisciplined, ye give a law to those, ye yourselves not being prepared. Strip thyself, O rich man turned away from God, of such evils, if assuredly, perchance, what thou hast seen done may aid thee. Be ye the attendant of a god while ye have time. Even as the elm loves the vine, so love ye people of no account. Observe now, O barren one, the law which is terrible to the evil, and equally benignant to the good; be humble in prosperity. Take away, O rich men, hearts of fraud, and take up hearts of peace. And look upon your evil-doing. Do ye do good? I am here.

31. *To judges.*

Consider the sayings of Solomon, all ye judges; in what way, with one word of his, he disparages you. How gifts and presents corrupt the judges, thence, thence follows the law. Ye always love givers; and when there shall be a cause, the unjust cause carries off the victory. Thus I am innocent; nor do I, a man of no account, accuse you, because Solomon openly raises the blasphemy. But your god is your belly, and rewards are your laws. Paul the apostle suggests this, I am not deceitful.

32. *To self-pleasers.*

If place or time is favourable, or the person has advanced, let there be a new judge. Why now art thou lifted up thence? Untaught, thou blasphemest Him of whose liberality thou livest. In such weakness thou dost not ever regard Him. Throughout advances and profits thou greedily presumest on fortune. There is no law to thee, nor dost thou discern thyself in prosperity. Although they may be counted of gold, let the strains of the pipe always be raving. If thou hast not adored the crucifixion of the Lord, thou hast perished. Both place and occasion and person is now given to thee, if, however, thou believest; but if not, thou shalt fear before Him. Bring thyself into obedience to Christ, and place thy neck under Him. To Him remains the honour and all the confidence of things. When the time

flatters thee, be more cautious. Not foreseeing, as it behoves thee, the final awards of fate, thou art not able ever to live again without Christ.

33. *To the Gentiles.*

O people, ferocious, without a shepherd, now at length wander not. For I also who admonish you was the same, ignorant, wandering. Now, therefore, take the likeness of your Lord. Raise upward your wild and roughened hearts. Enter stedfastly into the fold of your sylvan Shepherd, remaining safe from robbers under the royal roof. In the wood are wolves; therefore take refuge in the cave. Thou warrest, thou art mad; nor dost thou behold where thou abidest. Believe in the one God, that when dead thou mayest live, and mayest rise in His kingdom, when there shall be the resurrection to the just.

34. *Moreover, to ignorant Gentiles.*

The unsubdued neck refuses to bear the yoke of labour. Then it delights to be satisfied with herbs in the rich plains. And still unwillingly is subdued the useful mare, and it is made to be less fierce when it is first brought into subjection. O people, O man, thou brother, do not be a brutal flock. Pluck thyself forth at length, and thyself withdraw thyself. Assuredly thou art not cattle, thou art not a beast, but thou art born a man. Do thou thyself wisely subdue thyself, and enter under arms. Thou who followest idols art nothing but the vanity of the age. Your trifling hearts destroy you when almost set free. There gold, garments, silver is brought to the elbows; there war is made; there love is sung of instead of psalms. Dost thou think it to be life, when thou playest or lookest forward to such things as these? Thou choosest, O ignorant one, things that are extinct; thou seekest golden things. Thence thou shalt not escape the plague, although thyself art divine. Thou seekest not that grace which God sent to be read of in the earth, but thus as a beast thou wanderest. The golden age before spoken of shall come to thee if thou believest, and again thou shalt begin to live

always an immortal life. That also is permitted to know what thou wast before. Give thyself as a subject to God, who governs all things.

35. *Of the tree of life and death.*

Adam was the first who fell, and that he might shun the precepts of God, Belial was his tempter by the lust of the palm tree. And he conferred on us also what he did, whether of good or of evil, as being the chief of all that was born from him; and thence we die by his means, as he himself, receding from the divine, became an outcast from the Word. We shall be immortal when six thousand years are accomplished. The tree of the apple being tasted, death has entered into the world. By this tree of death we are born to the life to come. On the tree depends the life that bears fruits—precepts. Now, therefore, pluck[1] believingly the fruits of life. A law was given from the tree to be feared by the primitive man, whence comes death by the neglect of the law of the beginning. Now stretch forth your hand, and take of the tree of life. The excellent law of the Lord which follows has issued from the tree. The first law is lost; man eats whence he can, who adores the forbidden gods, the evil joys of life. Reject this partaking; it will suffice you to know what it should be. If you wish to live, surrender yourselves to the second law. Avoid the worship of temples, the oracles of demons; turn yourselves to Christ, and ye shall be associates with God. Holy is God's law, which teaches the dead to live. God alone has commanded us to offer to Him the hymn of praise. All of you shun absolutely the law of the devil.

36. *Of the foolishness of the cross.*

I have spoken of the twofold sign whence death proceeded, and again I have said that thence life frequently proceeds; but the cross has become foolishness to an adulterous people. The awful King of eternity shadows forth [these things] by the cross, that they may now believe on Him. O fools, that

[1] *Scil.* "capite," conjectural for "cavete."

live in death! Cain slew his younger brother by the invention of wickedness. Thence the sons of Enoch[1] are said to be the race of Cain. Then the evil people increased in the world, which never transfers souls to God. To believe the cross came to be a dread, and they say that they live righteously. The first law was in the tree; and thence, too, the second. And thence the second law first of all overcame the terrible law with peace.[2] Lifted up, they have rushed into vain prevarications. They are unwilling to acknowledge the Lord pierced with nails; but when His judgment shall come, they will then discern Him. But the race of Abel already believes on a merciful Christ.

37. *The fanatics who judaize.*

What! art thou half a Jew? wilt thou be half profane? Whence thou shalt not when dead escape the judgment of Christ. Thou thyself blindly wanderest, and foolishly goest in among the blind. And thus the blind leadeth the blind into the ditch. Thou goest whither thou knowest not, and thence ignorantly withdrawest. Let them who are learning go to the learned, and let the learned depart. But thou goest to those from whom thou canst learn nothing. Thou goest forth before the doors, and thence also thou goest to the idols. Ask first of all what is commanded in the law. Let them tell thee if it be commanded to adore the gods; for they are ignored in respect of that which they are especially able to do. But because they are guilty of that very crime, they relate nothing concerning the commandments of God save what is marvellous. Then, however, they blindly lead you with them into the ditch. There are deaths too well known by them to relate, or because the heaping up of the plough closes up the field. The Almighty would not have them understand their King. Why such a wickedness? He Himself took refuge from those bloody men. He gave

[1] "Eusebius tells of another Enoch, who was not translated without seeing death."—RIG.

[2] Et inde secunda terribilem legem primo cum pace revincit.—DAVIS, conjecturally.

Himself to us by a superadded law. Thence now they lie concealed with us, deserted by their King. But if you think that in them there is hope, you are altogether in error if you worship God and heathen temples.

38. *To the Jews.*

Evil always, and recalcitrant, with a stiff neck ye wish not that ye should be overcome; thus ye will be heirs. Isaiah said that ye were of hardened heart. Ye look upon the law which Moses in wrath dashed to pieces; and the same Lord gave to him a second law. In that he placed his hope; but ye, half healed, reject it, and therefore ye shall not be worthy of the kingdom of heaven.

39. *Also to the Jews.*

Look upon Leah, that was a type of the synagogue, which Jacob received as a sign, with eyes so weak; and yet he served again for the younger one beloved: a true mystery, and a type of our church. Consider what was abundantly said of Rebecca from heaven; whence, imitating the alien, ye may believe in Christ. Thence come to Tamar and the offspring of twins. Look to Cain, the first tiller of the earth, and Abel the shepherd, who was an unspotted offerer in the ruin of his brother, and was slain by his brother. Thus therefore perceive, that the younger are approved by Christ.

40. *Again to the same.*

There is not an unbelieving people such as yours. O evil men! in so many places, and so often rebuked by the law of those who cry aloud. And the lofty One despises your Sabbaths, and altogether rejects your universal monthly feasts according to law, that ye should not make to Him the commanded sacrifices; who told you to throw a stone for your offence. If any should not believe that He had perished by an unjust death, and that those who were beloved were saved by other laws, thence that life was suspended on the tree, and believe not on Him. God Himself

is the life; He Himself was suspended for us. But ye with indurated heart insult Him.

41. *Of the time of Antichrist.*

Isaiah said: This is the man who moveth the world and so many kings, and under whom the land shall become desert. Hear ye how the prophet foretold concerning him. I have said nothing elaborately, but negligently. Then, doubtless, the world shall be finished when he shall appear. He himself shall divide the globe into three ruling powers, when, moreover, Nero shall be raised up from hell, Elias shall first come to seal the beloved ones; at which things the region of Africa and the northern nation, the whole earth on all sides, for seven years shall tremble. But Elias shall occupy the half of the time, Nero shall occupy half. Then the whore Babylon, being reduced to ashes, its embers shall thence advance to Jerusalem; and the Latin conqueror shall then say, I am Christ, whom ye always pray to; and, indeed, the original ones who were deceived combine to praise him. He does many wonders, since his is the false prophet. Especially that they may believe him, his image shall speak. The Almighty has given it power to appear such. The Jews, recapitulating Scriptures from him, exclaim at the same time to the Highest that they have been deceived.

42. *Of the hidden and holy people of the Almighty Christ, the living God.*

Let the hidden, the final, the holy people be longed for; and, indeed, let it be unknown by us where it abides, acting by nine of the tribes and a half . . .; and he has bidden to live by the former law. Now let us all live: the tradition of the law is new, as the law itself teaches, I point out to you more plainly. Two of the tribes and a half are left: wherefore is the half of the tribes [separated] from them? That they might be martyrs, when He should bring war on His elected ones into the world; or certainly the choir of the holy prophets would rise together upon the people who should impose a check upon them whom the obscene horses have

slaughtered with kicking heel; nor would the band hurry rashly at any time to [the gift of] peace. Those of the tribes are withdrawn, and all the mysteries of Christ are fulfilled by them throughout the whole age. Moreover, they have arisen from the crime of two brothers, by whose auspices they have followed crime. Not undeservedly are these bloody ones thus scattered: they shall again assemble on behalf of the mysteries of Christ. But then the things told of in the law are hastening to their completion. The Almighty Christ descends to His elect, who have been darkened from our view for so long a time—they have become so many thousands—that is the true heavenly people. The son does not die before his father, then; nor do they feel pains in their bodies, nor polypus in their nostrils. They who cease depart in ripe years in their bed, fulfilling all the things of the law, and therefore they are protected. They are bidden to pass on the right side of their Lord; and when they have passed over as before, He dries up the river. Nor less does the Lord Himself also proceed with them. He has passed over to our side, they come with the King of heaven; and in their journey, what shall I speak of which God will bring to pass? Mountains subside before them, and fountains break forth. The creation rejoices to see the heavenly people. Here, however, they hasten to defend the captive matron. But the wicked king who possesses her, when he hears, flies into the parts of the north, and collects all [his followers]. Moreover, when the tyrant shall dash himself against the army of God, his soldiery are overthrown by the celestial terror; the false prophet himself is seized with the wicked one, by the decree of the Lord; they are handed over alive to Gehenna. From him chiefs and leaders are bidden to obey; then will the holy ones enter into the breasts of their ancient mother, that, moreover, they also may be refreshed whom he has evil persuaded. With various punishments he will torment those who trust in him; they come to the end, whereby offences are taken away from the world. The Lord will begin to give judgment by fire.

43. *Of the end of this age.*

The trumpet gives the sign in heaven, the lion being taken away, and suddenly there is darkness with the din of heaven. The Lord casts down His eyes, so that the earth trembles. He cries out, so that all may hear throughout the world: Behold, long have I been silent while I bore your doings in such a time. They cry out together, complaining and groaning too late. They howl, they bewail; nor is there room found for the wicked. What shall the mother do for the sucking child, when she herself is burnt up? In the flame of fire the Lord will judge the wicked. But the fire shall not touch the just, but shall by all means lick them up (?). In one place they delay, but a part has wept at the judgment. Such will be the heat, that the stones themselves shall melt. The winds assemble into lightnings, the heavenly wrath rages; and wherever the wicked man fleeth, he is seized upon by this fire. There will be no succour nor ship of the sea. Amen flames on the nations, and the Medes and Parthians burn for a thousand years, as the hidden words of John declare. For then after a thousand years they are delivered over to Gehenna; and he whose work they were, with them are burnt up.

44. *Of the first resurrection.*

From heaven will descend the city in the first resurrection; this is what we may tell of such a celestial fabric. We shall arise again to Him, who have been devoted to Him. And they shall be incorruptible, even already living without death. And neither will there be any grief nor any groaning in that city. They shall come also who overcame cruel martyrdom under Antichrist, and they themselves live for the whole time, and receive blessings because they have suffered evil things; and they themselves marrying, beget for a thousand years. There are prepared all the revenues of the earth, because the earth renewed without end pours forth abundantly. Therein are no rains; no cold comes into the golden camp. No sieges as now, nor rapines, nor does that city crave the

light of a lamp. It shines from its Founder. Moreover, Him it obeys; in breadth 12,000 furlongs, and length and depth. It levels its foundation in the earth, but it raises its head to heaven. In the city before the doors, moreover, sun and moon shall shine; he who is evil is hedged up in torment, for the sake of the nourishment of the righteous. But from the thousand years God will destroy all those evils.

45. *Of the day of judgment.*

I add something, on account of unbelievers, of the day of judgment. Again, the fire of the Lord sent forth shall be appointed. The earth gives a true groan; then those who are making their journey in the last end, and then all unbelievers, [groan]. The whole of nature is converted in flame, which yet avoids the camp of His saints. The earth is burned up from its foundations, and the mountains melt. Of the sea nothing remains: it is overcome by the powerful fire. This sky perishes, and the stars and these things are changed. Another novelty of sky and of everlasting earth is arranged. Thence they who deserve it are sent away in a second death, but the righteous are placed in inner dwelling-places.

46. *To catechumens.*

In few words, I admonish all believers in Christ, who have forsaken idols, for your salvation. In the first times, if in any way thou fallest into error, still, when entreated, do thou leave all things for Christ; and since thou hast known God, be a recruit good and approved, and let virgin modesty dwell with thee in purity. Let the mind be watchful for good things. Beware that thou fall not into former sins. In baptism the coarse dress of thy birth is washed. For if any sinful catechumen is marked with punishment, let him live in the signs [of Christianity], although not without loss. The whole of the matter for thee is this, Do thou ever shun great sins.

47. *To the faithful.*

I admonish the faithful not to hold their brethren in

hatred. Hatreds are accounted impious by martyrs for the flame. The martyr is destroyed whose confession is of such kind; nor is it taught that the evil is expiated by the shedding of blood. A law is given to the unjust man that he may restrain himself. Thence he ought to be free from craft; so also oughtest thou. Twice dost thou sin against God, if thou extendest strifes to thy brother; whence thou shalt not avoid sin following thy former courses. Thou hast once been washed: shalt thou be able to be immersed again?

48. *O faithful, beware of evil.*

The birds are deceived, and the beasts of the woods in the woods, by those very charms by which their ruin is ever accomplished, and caves as well as food deceive them as they follow; and they know not how to shun evil, nor are they restrained by law. Law is given to man, and a doctrine of life to be chosen, from which he remembers that he may be able to live carefully, and recalls his own place, and takes away those things which belong to death. He severely condemns himself who forsakes rule; either bound with iron, or cast down from his degree; or deprived of life, he loses what he ought to enjoy. Warned by example, do not sin gravely; translated by the laver, rather have charity; flee far from the bait of the mouse-trap, where there is death. Many are the martyrdoms which are made without shedding of blood. Not to desire other men's goods; to wish to have the benefit of martyrdom; to bridle the tongue, thou oughtest to make thyself humble; not willingly to use force, nor to return force used against thee, thou wilt be a patient mind, understand that thou art a martyr.

49. *To penitents.*

Thou art become a penitent; pray night and day; yet from thy Mother do not far depart, and the Highest will be able to be merciful to thee. The confession of thy fault shall not be in vain. Equally in thy state of accusation learn to weep manifestly. Then, if thou hast a wound, seek

herbs and a physician; and yet in thy punishments thou shalt be able to mitigate thy sufferings. For I will even confess that I alone am here of you, and that terror must be foregone. I have myself felt the destruction; and therefore I warn those who are wounded to walk more cautiously, to put thy hair and thy beard in the dust of the earth, and to be clothed in sackcloth, and to entreat from the highest King will aid thee, that thou perish not perchance from among the people.

50. *Who have apostatized from God.*

Moreover, when war is waged, or an enemy attacks, if one be able either to conquer or to be hidden, they are great trophies; but unhappy will he be who shall be taken by them. He loses country and king who has been unwilling to fight worthily for the truth, for his country, or for life. He ought to die rather than go under a barbarian king; and let him seek slavery who is willing to transfer himself to enemies without law. Then, if in warring thou shouldst die for thy king, hast conquered, or if thou hast given thy hands, thou hast perished uninjured by law. The enemy crosses the river; do thou hide under thy lurking-place; or, if he can enter or not, do not linger. Everywhere make thyself safe, and thy friends also; thou hast conquered. And take watchful care lest any one enter in that lurking-place. It will be an infamous thing if any one declares himself to the enemy. He who knows not how to conquer, and runs to deliver himself up, has weakly foregone praise for neither his own nor his country's good. Then he was unwilling to live, since life itself will perish. If any one is without God, or profane from the enemy, they are become as sounding brass, or deaf as adders: such men ought abundantly to pray or to hide themselves.

51. *Of infants.*

The enemy has suddenly come flooding us over with war; and before they could flee, he has seized upon the helpless children. They cannot be reproached, although they are

seen to be taken captive; nor, indeed, do I excuse them. Perhaps they have deserved it on account of the faults of their parents; therefore God has given them up. However, I exhort the adults that they run to arms, and that they should be born again, as it were, to their Mother from the womb. Let them avoid a law that is terrible, and always bloody, impious, intractable, living with the life of the beasts; for when another war by chance should be to be waged, he who should be able to conquer or even rightly to know how to beware . . .

52. *Deserters.*

For deserters are not called so as all of one kind. One is wicked, another partially withdraws; but yet true judgments are decreed for both. So Christ is fought against, even as Cæsar is obeyed. Seek the refuge of the king, if thou hast been a delinquent. Do thou implore of Him; do thou prostrate confess to Him: He will grant all things whose also are all our things. The camp being replaced, beware of sinning further; do not wander long as a soldier through caves of the wild beasts. Let it be sin to thee to cease from unmeasured doing.

53. *To the soldiers of Christ.*

When thou hast given thy name to the warfare, thou art held by a bridle. Therefore begin thou to put away thy former doings. Shun luxuries, since labour is threatening arms. With all thy virtue thou must obey the king's command, if thou wishest to attain the last times in gladness. He is a good soldier, always wait for things to be enjoyed. Be unwilling to flatter thyself; absolutely put away sloth, that thou mayest daily be ready for what is set before thee. Be careful beforehand; in the morning revisit the standards. When thou seest the war, take the nearest contest. This is the king's glory, to see the soldiery prepared. The king is present; desire that ye may fight beyond his hope. He makes ready gifts. He gladly looks for the victory, and assigns you to be a fit follower. Do thou be unwilling to spare thy-

self besides for Belial; be thou rather diligent, that he may give fame for your death.

54. *Of fugitives.*

The souls of those that are lost deservedly of themselves separate themselves. Begotten of him, they again recur to those things which are his. The root of Cain, the accursed seed, breaks forth and takes refuge in the servile nation under a barbarian king; and there the eternal flame will torment on the day decreed. The fugitive will wander vaguely without discipline, loosed from law to go about through the defiles of the ways. These, therefore, are such whom no penalty has restrained. If they will not live, they ought to be seen by the idols.

55. *Of the seed of the tares.*

Of the seed of the tares, who stand mingled in the church. When the times of the harvest are filled up, the tares that have sprung up are separated from the fruit, because God had not sent them. The husbandman separates all those collected tares. The law is our field; whoever does good in it, assuredly the Ruler Himself will afford a true repose, for the tares are burned with fire. If, therefore, you think that under one they are delaying, you are wrong. I designate you as barren Christians; cursed was the fig-tree without fruit in the word of the Lord, and immediately it withered away. Ye do not works; ye prepare no gift for the treasury, and yet ye thus vainly think to deserve well of the Lord.

56. *To the dissembler.*

Dost thou dissemble with the law that was given with such public announcement, crying out in the heavenly word of so many prophets? If a prophet had only cried out to the clouds,[1] the word of the Lord uttered by him would surely suffice. The law of the Lord proclaims itself into so many volumes of prophets; none of them excuses wickedness;

[1] Or, "If one prophet only had cried out to the world."

thus even thou wishest from the heart to see good things; thou art also seeking to live by deceits. Why, then, has the law itself gone forth with so much pains? Thou abusest the commands of the Lord, and yet thou callest thyself His son. Thou art seen, if thou wilt be such without reason. I say, the Almighty seeks the meek to be His sons, those who are upright with a good heart, those who are devoted to the divine law; but ye know already where He has plunged the wicked.

57. *That worldly things are absolutely to be avoided.*

If certain teachers, while looking for your gifts or fearing your persons, relax individual things to you, not only do I not grieve, but I am compelled to speak the truth. Thou art going to vain shows with the crowd of the evil one, where Satan is at work in the circus with din. Thou persuadest thyself that everything that shall please thee is lawful. Thou art the offspring of the Highest, mingled with the sons of the devil. Dost thou wish to see the former things which thou hast renounced? Art thou again conversant with them? What shall the Anointed One profit thee? Or if it is permitted, on account of weakness, that thou foolishly profane . . . Love not the world, nor its contents. Such is God's word, and it seems good to thee. Thou observest man's command, and shunnest God's. Thou trusted to the gift whereby the teachers shut up their mouths, that they may be silent, and not tell thee the divine commands; while I speak the truth, as thou art bound look to the Highest. Assign thyself as a follower to Him whose son thou wast. If thou seekest to live, being a believing man, as do the Gentiles, the joys of the world remove thee from the grace of Christ. With an undisciplined mind thou seekest what thou presumest to be easily lawful, both thy dear actors and their musical strains; nor carest thou that the offspring of such an one should babble follies. While thou thinkest that thou art enjoying life, thou art improvidently erring. The Highest commands, and thou shunnest His righteous precepts.

58. *That the Christian should be such.*

When the Lord says that man should eat bread with groaning, here what art thou now doing, who desirest to live with joy? Thou seekest to rescind the judgment uttered by the highest God when He first formed man; thou wishest to abandon the curb of the law. If the Almighty God have bidden thee live with sweat, thou who art living in pleasure wilt already be a stranger to Him. The Scripture saith that the Lord was angry with the Jews. Their sons, refreshed with food, rose up to play. Now, therefore, why do we follow these circumcised men?[1] In what respect they perished, we ought to beware; the greatest part of you, surrendered to luxuries, obey them. Thou transgressest the law in staining thyself with dyes: against thee the apostle cries out; yea, God cries out by him. Your dissoluteness, says he, in itself ruins[2] you. Be, then, such as Christ wishes you to be, gentle, and in Him joyful, for in the world you are sad. Run, labour, sweat, fight with sadness. Hope comes with labour, and the palm is given to victory. If thou wishest to be refreshed, give help and encouragement to the martyr. Wait for the repose to come in the passage of death.

59. *To the matrons of the Church of the living God.*

Thou wishest, O Christian woman, that the matrons should be as the ladies of the world. Thou surroundest thyself with gold, or with the modest silken garment. Thou givest the terror of the law from thy ears to the wind. Thou affectest vanity with all the pomp of the devil. Thou art adorned at the looking-glass with thy curled hair turned back from thy brow. And moreover, with evil purposes, thou puttest on false medicaments, on thy pure eyes the stibium, with painted beauty, or thou dyest thy hair that it may be always black. God is the overlooker, who dives into each heart. But these things are not necessary for modest women. Pierce thy breast with chaste and modest feeling. The law of God

[1] Sponte profectos. [2] Deperdunt.

bears witness that such laws fail from the heart which believes; to a wife approved of her husband, let it suffice that she is so, not by her dress, but by her good disposition. To put on clothes which the cold and the heat or too much sun demands, only that thou mayest be approved modest, and show forth the gifts of thy capacity among the people of God. Thou who wast formerly most illustrious, givest to thyself the guise of one who is contemptible. She who lay without life, was raised by the prayers of the widows. She deserved this, that she should be raised from death, not by her costly dress, but by her gifts. Do ye, O good matrons, flee from the adornment of vanity; such attire is fitting for women who haunt the brothels. Overcome the evil one, O modest women of Christ. Show forth all your wealth in giving.

60. *To the same again.*

Hear my voice, thou who wishest to remain a Christian woman, in what way the blessed Paul commands you to be adorned. Isaiah, moreover, the teacher and author that spoke from heaven, for he detests those who follow the wickedness of the world, says: The daughters of Zion that are lifted up shall be brought low. It is not right in God that a faithful Christian woman should be adorned. Dost thou seek to go forth after the fashion of the Gentiles, O thou who art consecrated to God? God's heralds, crying aloud in the law, condemn such to be unrighteous women, who in such wise adorn themselves. Ye stain your hair; ye paint the opening of your eyes with black; ye lift up your pretty hair one by one on your painted brow; ye anoint your cheeks with some sort of ruddy colour laid on; and, moreover, ear-rings hang down with very heavy weight. Ye bury your neck with necklaces; with gems and gold ye bind hands worthy of God with an evil presage. Why should I tell of your dresses, or of the whole pomp of the devil? Ye are rejecting the law when ye wish to please the world. Ye dance in your houses; instead of psalms, ye sing love songs. Thou, although thou mayest be chaste, dost not prove thyself so by following evil things. Christ therefore makes you, such

as you are, equal with the Gentiles. Be pleasing to the hymned chorus, and to an appeased Christ with ardent love fervently offer your savour to Christ.

61. *In the church to all the people of God.*

I, brethren, am not righteous who am lifted up out of the filth, nor do I exalt myself; but I grieve for you, as seeing that out of so great a people, none is crowned in the contest; certainly, even if he does not himself fight, yet let him suggest encouragement to others. Ye rebuke calamity; O belly, stuff yourself out with luxury. The brother labours in arms with a world opposed to him; and dost thou, stuffed with wealth, neither fight, nor place thyself by his side when he is fighting? O fool, dost not thou perceive that one is warring on behalf of many? The whole church is suspended on such a one if he conquers. Thou seest that thy brother is withheld, and that he fights with the enemy. Thou desirest peace in the camp, he outside rejects it. Be pitiful, that thou mayest be before all things saved. Neither dost thou fear the Lord, who cries aloud with such an utterance; even He who commands us to give food even to our enemies. Look forward to thy meals from that Tobias who always on every day shared them entirely with the poor man. Thou seekest to feed him, O fool, who feedeth thee again. Dost thou wish that he should prepare for me, who is setting before him his burial? The brother oppressed with want, nearly languishing away, cries out at the splendidly fed, and with distended belly. What sayest thou of the Lord's day? If he have not placed himself before, call forth a poor man from the crowd whom thou mayest take to thy dinner. In the tablets is your hope from a Christ refreshed.

62. *To him who wishes for martyrdom.*

Since, O son, thou desirest martyrdom, hear. Be thou such as Abel was, or such as Isaac himself, or Stephen, who chose for himself on the way the righteous life. Thou indeed desirest that which is a matter suited for the blessed. First of all, overcome the evil one with thy good acts by living well;

and when He thy King shall see thee, be thou secure. It is His own time, and we are living for both; so that if war fails, the martyrs shall go in peace. Many indeed err who say, With our blood we have overcome the wicked one; and if he remains, they are unwilling to overcome. He perishes by lying in wait, and the wicked thus feels it; but he that is lawful does not feel the punishments applied. With exclamation and with eagerness beat thy breast with thy fists. Even now, if thou hast conquered by good deeds, thou art a martyr in Him. Thou, therefore, who seekest to extol martyrdom with thy word, in peace clothe thyself with good deeds, and be secure.

63. *The daily war.*

Thou seekest to wage war, O fool, as if wars were at peace. From the first formed day in the end you fight. Lust precipitates you, there is war; fight with it. Luxury persuades, neglect it; thou hast overcome the war. Be sparing of abundance of wine, lest by means of it thou shouldest go wrong. Restrain thy tongue from cursing, because with it thou adorest the Lord. Repress rage. Make thyself peaceable to all. Beware of trampling on thy inferiors when weighed down with miseries. Lend thyself as a protector only, and do no hurt. Lead yourselves in a righteous path, unstained by jealousy. In thy riches make thyself gentle to those that are of little account. Give of thy labour, clothe the naked. Thus shalt thou conquer. Lay snares for no man, since thou servest God. Look to the beginning, whence the envious enemy has perished. I am not a teacher, but the law itself teaches by its proclamation. Thou wearest such great words vainly, who in one moment seekest without labour to raise a martrydom to Christ.

64. *Of the zeal of concupiscence.*

In desiring, thence thou perishest, whilst thou art burning with envy of thy neighbour. Thou extinguishest thyself, when thou inflamest thyself within. Thou art jealous, O envious man, of another who is struggling with evil, and

desirest that thou mayest become equally the possessor of so much wealth. The law does not thus behold him when thou seekest to fall upon him. Depending on all things, thou livest in the lust of gain; and although thou art guilty to thyself, thou condemnest thyself by thy own judgment. The greedy survey of the eyes is never satisfied. Now, therefore, if thou mayest return and consider, lust is vain . . . whence God cries out, Thou fool, this night thou art summoned. Death rushes after thee. Whose, then, shall be those talents? By hiding the unrighteous gains in the concealed treasury, when the Lord shall supply to every one his daily life. Let another accumulate; do thou seek to live well. And when thy heart is conscious of God, thou shalt be victor over all things; yet I do not say that thou shouldest boast thyself in public, when thou art watching for thy day by living without fraud. The bird perishes in the midst of food, or carelessly sticks fast in the bird-lime. Think that in thy simplicity thou hast much to beware of. Let others transgress these bounds. Do thou always look forward.

65. *They who give from evil.*

Why dost thou senselessly feign thyself good by the wound of another? Whence thou bestowest, another is daily weeping. Dost not thou believe that the Lord sees those things from heaven? The Highest says, He does not approve of the gifts of the wicked. Thou shalt break forth upon the wretched when thou shalt have gained a place. One gives gifts that he may make another of no account; or if thou hast lent on usury, taking twenty-four per cent., thou wishest to bestow charity that thou mayest purge thyself, as being evil, with that which is evil. The Almighty absolutely rejects such works as these. Thou hast given [that which has been wrung] from tears; that candidate, oppressed with ungrateful usuries, and become needy, deplores it. Besides having obtained an opportunity for the exactors, thy enemy for the present is the people; thou consecrated, hast become wicked for reward. Also thou wishest to atone for thyself

by the gain of wages. O wicked one, thou deceivest thyself, but none else.

66. *Of a deceitful peace.*

The arranged time comes to our people; there is peace in the world; and, at the same time, ruin is weighing us down from the enticement of the world, [the destruction] of the reckless people whom ye have rent into schism. Either obey the law of the city, or depart from it. Ye behold the mote sticking in our eyes, and will not see the beam in your own. A treacherous peace is coming to you; persecution is rife; the wounds do not appear; and thus, without slaughter, ye are destroyed. War is waged in secret, because, in the midst of peace itself, scarcely one of you has behaved himself with caution. O badly fortified, and foretold for slaughter, ye praise a treacherous peace,—a peace that is mischievous to you. Having become the soldiers of another than Christ, ye have perished.

67. *To the readers.*

I warn certain readers only to consider, and to give material to others by an example of life, to avoid strife, and to shun so many quarrels; to repress terror, and never to be proud; moreover, denounce the righteous obedience of wicked men. Make yourselves like to Christ your Master, O little ones. Be among the lilies of the field by your benefits; ye have become blessed when ye bear the edicts; ye are flowers in the congregation; ye are Christ's lanterns. Keep what ye are, and ye shall be able to tell it.

68. *To ministers.*

Exercise the mystery of Christ, O deacons, with purity; therefore, O ministers, do the commands of your Master; do not play the person of a righteous judge; strengthen your office by all things, as learned men, looking upwards, always devoted to the Supreme God. Render the faithful sacred ministries of the altar to God, prepared in divine matters to set an example; yourselves incline your head to

the pastors, so shall it come to pass that ye may be approved of Christ.

69. *To God's shepherds.*

A shepherd, if he shall have confessed, has doubled his conflict. Moreover, the apostle bids that such should be teachers. Let him be a patient ruler; let him know when he may relax the reins; let him terrify at first, and then anoint with honey; and let him first observe to do himself what he says. The shepherd who minds worldly things is esteemed in fault, against whose countenance thou mightest dare to say anything. Gehenna itself bubbles up in hell with rumours. Woe to the wretched people which wavers with doubtful brow! if such a shepherd shall be present to it, it is almost ruined. But a devout man restrains it, governing rightly. The swarms [of bees] are rejoiced under suitable kings; in such there is hope, and the entire church lives.

70. *I speak to the elder-born.*

The time demands that I alone should speak to you truth. He is often admonished by one word which many refuse. I wish you to turn your hatred against me alone, that the hearts of all may tremble at the tempter. Look to the saying that truth begets hatred, [and consider] how many things I have lately indeed foretold concerning a delusive peace, while, alas, the enticing seducer has come upon you unawares, and because ye have not known how that his wiles were imminent, ye have perished; ye work absolutely bitter things, but that is itself the characteristic of the world; not any one for whom ye intercede acts for nothing. He who takes refuge from your fire, plunges in the whirlpool. Then the wretch, stripped naked, seeks assistance from you. The judges themselves shudder at your frauds . . . of a shorter title, I should not labour at so many lines. Ye who teach, look upon those to whom ye willingly tend, when for yourselves ye both receive banquets and feed upon them. For those things are ye already almost entering the foundations of the earth.

71. *To visit the sick.*

If thy brother should be weak—I speak of the poor man—do not empty-handed visit such an one as he lies ill. Do good under God; pay your obedience by your money. Thence he shall be restored; or if he should perish, let a poor man be refreshed, who has nothing wherewith to pay you, but the Founder and Author of the world on his behalf. Or if it should displease thee to go to the poor man, always hateful, send money, and something whence he may recover himself. And, similarly, if thy poor sister lies upon a sick-bed, let your matrons begin to bear her victuals. God Himself cries out, Break thy bread to the needy. There is no need to visit with words, but with benefits. It is wicked that thy brother should be sick through want of food. Satisfy him not with words. He needs meat and drink. Look upon such assuredly weakened, who are not able to act for themselves. Give to them at once. I pledge my word that fourfold shall be given you by God.

72. *To the poor in health.*

What can healthful poverty do, unless wealth be present? Assuredly, if thou hast the means, at once communicate also to thy brother. Be responsible to thyself for one, lest thou shouldst be said to be proud. I promise that thou shalt live more secure than the rich man. Receive into thy ears the teaching of the great Solomon: God hates the poor man to be a pleader on high. Therefore submit thyself, and give honour to Him that is powerful; for the soft speech—thou knowest the proverb—melts. One is conquered by service, even although there be an ancient anger. If the tongue be silent, thou hast found nothing better. If there should not wholesomely be an art whereby life may be governed, either give aid or direction by the command of Him that is mighty. Let it not shame or grieve you that a healthy man should have faith. In the treasury, besides, thou oughtest to give of thy labour, even as that widow whom the Anointed One preferred.

73. *That sons are not to be bewailed.*

Although the death of sons leaves grief for the heart, yet it is not right either to go forth in black garments, or to bewail them. The Lord prudently says that ye must grieve with the mind, not with outward show, which is finished in the week. In the book of Solomon the promises of the Lord concerning the resurrection are forgotten if thou wouldest make thy sons martyrs, and thus with thy voice will bewail them. Art thou not ashamed without restraint to lament thy sons, like the Gentiles? Thou tearest thy face, thou beatest thy breast, thou takest off thy garments; and dost thou not fear the Lord, whose kingdom thou desirest to behold? Mourn as it is right, but do not do wrong on their behalf. Ye therefore are such. What less than Gentiles are ye? Ye do as the crowds that are descended from the diabolical stock. Ye cry that they are extinct. With what advantage, O false one, thou hast perished! The father has not led his son with grief to be slain at the altar, nor has the prophet mourned over a deceased son with grief, nor even has a weeping parent. But one devoted to God was hastily dying.

74. *Of funeral pomp.*

Thou who seekest to be careful of the pomp of death art in error. As a servant of God, thou oughtest even in death to please Him. Alas that the lifeless body should be adorned in death! O true vanity, to desire honour for the dead! A mind enchained to the world; not even in death devoted to Christ. Thou knowest the proverbs. He wished to be carried through the forum. Thus ye, who are like to him, and living with untrained mind, wish to have a happy and blessed day at your death, that the people may come together, and that you may see praise with mourning. Thou dost not foresee whither thou mayest deserve to go when dead. Lo, they are following thee; and thou, perchance, art already burning, being driven to punishment. What will the pomp benefit the dead man? Thou shalt be

accused, who seekest them on account of those gatherings. Thou desirest to live under idols. Thou deceivest thyself.

75. *To the clerks.*

They will assemble together at Easter, that day of ours most blessed; and let them rejoice, who ask for divine entertainments. Let what is sufficient be expended upon them, wine and food. Look back at the source whence these things may be told on your behalf. Ye are wanting in a gift to Christ, in moderate expenditure. Since ye yourselves do it not, in what manner can ye persuade the righteousness of the law to such people, even once in the year? Thus often blasphemy suggests to many concerning you.

76. *Of those who gossip, and of silence.*

When a thing appears to anybody of no consequence, and is not shunned, and it rushes forth, as if easy, whilst thou abusest it. Fables assist it when thou comest to pour out prayers, or to beat thy breast for thy daily sin. The trumpet of the heralds sounds forth, while the reader is reading, that the ears may be open, and thou rather impedest them. Thou art luxurious with thy lips, with which thou oughtest to groan. Shut up thy breast to evils, or loose them in thy breast. But since the possession of money gives barefacedness to the wealthy, thence every one perishes when they are most trusting to themselves. Thus, moreover, the women assemble, as if they would enter the bath. They press closely, and make of God's house as if it were a fair. Certainly the Lord frightened the house of prayer. The Lord's priest commanded with "sursum corda," when prayer was to be made, that your silence should be made. Thou answerest fluently, and moreover abstainest not from promises. He entreats the Highest on behalf of a devoted people, lest any one should perish, and thou turnest thyself to fables. Thou mockest at him, or detractest from thy neighbour's reputation. Thou speakest in an undisciplined manner, as if God were absent—as if He who made all things neither hears nor sees.

77. *To the drunkards.*

I place no limit to a drunkard; but I had rather [have to do with] a beast. From those who are proud in drinking thou withdrawest in thine inner mind, holding the power of the ruler, O fool, among Cyclops. Thence in the histories thou criest, While I am dead I drink not. Be it mine to drink the best things, and to be wise in heart. Rather give assistance (what more seekest thou to abuse?) to the lowest pauper, and ye shall both be refreshed. If thou doest such things, thou extinguishest Gehenna for thyself.

78. *To the pastors.*

Thou who seekest to feed others, and hast prepared what thou couldest by assiduously feeding, hast done rightly. But still look after the poor man, who cannot feed thee again: then will thy table be approved by the one God. The Almighty has bidden such even especially to be fed. Consider, when thou feedest the sick, thou art also lending to the High One. In that thing the Lord has wished that you should stand before Him approved.

79. *To the petitioners.*

If thou desirest, when praying, to be heard from heaven, break the chains from the lurking-places of wickedness; or if, pitying the poor, thou prayest by thy benefits, doubt not but what thou shalt have asked may be given to the petitioner. Then truly, if void of benefits, thou adorest God, do not thus at all make thy prayers vainly.

80. *The name of the man of Gaza.*

Ye who are to be inhabitants of the heavens with God-Christ, hold fast the beginning, look at all things from heaven. Let simplicity, let meekness dwell in your body. Be not angry with thy devout brother without a cause, for ye shall receive whatever ye may have done from him. This has pleased Christ, that the dead should rise again, yea, with their bodies; and those, too, whom in this world the fire

has burned, when six thousand years are completed, and the world has come to an end. The heaven in the meantime is changed with an altered course, for then the wicked are burnt up with divine fire. The creature with groaning burns with the anger of the highest God. Those who are more worthy, and who are begotten of an illustrious stem, and the men of nobility under the conquered Antichrist, according to God's command living again in the world for a thousand years, indeed, that they may serve the saints, and the High One, under a servile yoke, that they may bear victuals on their neck. Moreover, that they may be judged again when the reign is finished. They who make God of no account when the thousandth year is finished shall perish by fire, when they themselves shall speak to the mountains. All flesh in the monuments and tombs is restored according to its deed: they are plunged in hell; they bear their punishments in the world; they are shown to them, and they read the things transacted from heaven; the reward according to one's deeds in a perpetual tyranny. I cannot comprehend all things in a little treatise; the curiosity of the learned men shall find my name in this.

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